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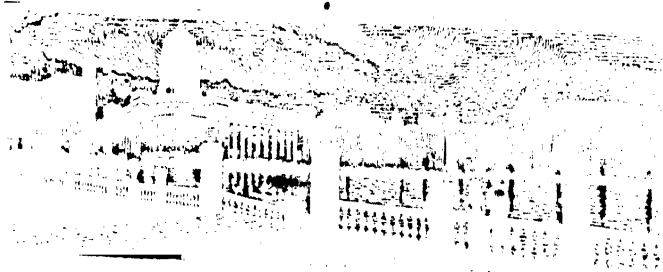
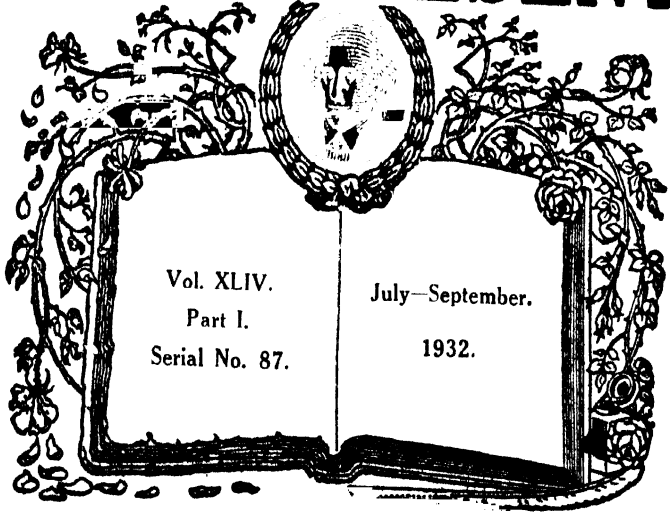
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JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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CAPTAIN WILLIAM MERCER (1755.—1801).
From a Portrait in the Possession of The Mercer Family.

The Letters of Captain William Mercer ; Aide-De-Camp to Warren Hastings, and Lieutenant in the Governor-General's Body Guard.

THE following letters, which are reproduced here through the courtesy of Major W. L. Mercer, of Huntingtower, near Perth, grandson of the original writer, were written between the years 1780 and 1798, both inclusive.

Although they do not, perhaps, help to throw any new light on either the political or social events of that most interesting period of the history of British India during which they were written, yet they are by no means devoid of interest for those who would renew acquaintance with scenes already made familiar through the medium of such books as:—*Hartly House*, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, *Mrs. Fay's Letters*, *The Great Proconsul*, and *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.

This interest is possibly enhanced by their being from the pen of one who, although holding no high official position, was possessed of sufficient social influence to procure for himself an appointment as A. D. C. on the Staff of Warren Hastings, and also the coveted post of Lieutenant in that *corps d'élite*, the Governor-General's Body Guard. Moreover, they lose nothing in value from the fact that they were written privately to various friends and members of the family, without any view to their eventually seeing the light of day in print.

* William Mercer, the writer of these letters, was the third son of William Mercer of Pitteuchar and Potterhill, of an old Perthshire family. According to Burke's *Landed Gentry*, "The family of Mercer of Aldie is one great antiquity in Scotland. As an old rhyme has it:—

'Sae sycker 'tis as onie thing on earth,
The Mercers aye are aulder than auld Perth.' "

William Mercer senior, who was Sheriff depute of Co. Perth, was born on 1st October, 1717, and died on 16th January, 1785. He married on 1st November, 1746, Elizabeth, daughter of George Swan, and by her (who died in 1790) had issue:—

1. Laurence James, b. 10 Jan. 1752. Bengal writer 1773: d. s. p. at Burdwan 20 Aug. 1791.
2. James, b. 3 Aug. 1753, died in infancy.
3. William, b. 8 Jan. 1755, killed in a duel at Ghazipore, 3 Aug. 1801.
4. James Francis, b. 28 Aug. 1756, d. 26 April, 1809.

5. Graeme, b. 4 July, 1764, d. 6 Oct. 1841.
6. John, b. 13 Sept. 1766, d. April, 1794.
7. Thomas, b. 16 June, 1769, d. 15 Aug. 1833.
8. George, b. 21 July, 1772, d. 7 Dec. 1853.
- (1) Annie, d. 20 March, 1824.
- (2) Margaret, d. Sept., 1776.
- (3) Hannah, d. 1796.

Of these, Laurence, James Francis, Graeme, Thomas, George, Annie, and Hannah will be met with in the course of the letters. The sixth son, John, was a Lieutenant in the Marines, and died unmarried. Margaret, the second daughter, also died unmarried, four years before the commencement of the period with which we are about to deal.

William Mercer, as already stated, was born on 8th January, 1755. Of his boyhood and school days nothing is known beyond the fact, which he himself states (vide letter 10), that both Mark and George Wood (afterwards Colonel Sir Mark Wood, Bart., and Major-General Sir George Wood, K.C.B.) were school fellows of his. He was probably sent to school in Perth, but must have left whilst still quite young, as on 26th December, 1770—a fortnight before his sixteenth birthday—he was gazetted to an Ensigncy in the 19th Foot (now Alexandra, Princess of Wales's Own Yorkshire Regiment).

He remained with this Regiment for about nine years, serving with it in Ireland, and in 1776 had attained to the rank of Lieutenant.

In 1780 he was nominated to a Cadetship in the H. E. I. C. S. by George Dempster Esq., M.P., one of the Directors. He sailed for India in the *Mount Stewart* in July, 1780, was captured on the voyage by the combined fleets of France and Spain, taken to Cadiz, and eventually exchanged.

He left England again in February, 1782, landed in Bombay in September, and reached Calcutta in November of the same year.

In January, 1783, he was appointed extra Aide-de-Camp to Warren Hastings, and was given the post of Lieutenant in his Body Guard. In February, 1784, he became a permanent Aide-de-Camp to the Governor-General, still retaining his appointment in the Body Guard.

He accompanied that distinguished Corps to Madras, took part with it in the Third Mysore War of 1790-92, and was invalided back to Calcutta from Bangalore in September, 1791. (General Order, dated 22nd Sept., 1791.)

He left the Body Guard in May, 1796, on being appointed Quartermaster to the 2nd Regiment of Native Cavalry, which at that period was stationed at Cawnpore. In January, 1800, we find him in the 1st Regiment of Native Cavalry, and on 29th May of that year he was posted to the 5th Regiment of Native Cavalry on its formation. He was killed in a duel at Ghazipore on 3rd August, 1801.

The dates of his various Commissions are as follows:—Cadet, 1781; Lieutenant, 10th July, 1782; Brevet-Captain, 30th May, 1796; Captain, 29th May, 1800.

[Letter

He married in Calcutta on 6th November, 1788, Barbara Drummond Forbes, daughter of Robert Forbes, of Corse, Co. Banff, and sister of Sir John

Forbes of Hawthornden (who took the name of Drummond), and by her had two sons (the elder of whom died in infancy) and four daughters. The younger son, William Drummond Mercer of Huntingtower, Co. Perth, was born at Benares on 16 October 1796 (see Letter LV) and was gazetted to H. M. 70th Foot as ensign in 1813: he exchanged as captain into the 3rd Dragoon Guards in 1823: and sold out in 1838 as a major in the 16th Lancers, when he joined his uncle George Mercer of Gorthy in Australia and engaged in business with him. He became a member of the Legislative Council at Port Phillip and promoted the separation of Victoria from New South Wales. On 7 June, 1853, he married his cousin Anne Elliot, daughter of George Mercer of Gorthy and died on 18 August, 1871. His wife survived him and died on 27 August, 1881. Their son William Lindsay Mercer, of Huntingtower held a commission in the 19th Foot and retired with the rank of major. The eldest of William Mercer's four daughters, Anne Abernathy, was married on 6 July, 1813, to Charles McGrigor, brother of Sir James McGrigor Bart., who died on March 15, 1841. The second, Eliza Forbes, was married on 15 Nov. 1819 to Richard Charles Blunt, second son of Sir Charles William Blunt, 3rd bart. B. C. S., who died in 1846. Their elder son Sir Charles William Blunt (1810-1890) succeeded his cousin as 6th bart. in 1847: he was enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1836 and practised at Madras from 1841 to 1850. The younger son Richard John Blunt (1822-1874) was a captain in the 27th Madras Infantry.

The third daughter, Louisa, was married on 23 February, 1819 to Alexander Brodie. The youngest daughter, Charlotte Simpson, was married on 30 June, 1817 to Robert Lockhart of Castlehill, Co. Lanark, who died on Nov. 2, 1850.

A word with regard to the arrangement of the letters and the explanatory notes. The method followed is that which has been adopted by the editor of the *Letters of Dorothy Osborne*, and by Miss "Sydney C. Grier" in *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, to the latter of whom acknowledgments are due for a good deal of biographical information which has been extracted from her book. I am also indebted to Sir Evan Cotton for some of the notes.

V. C. HODSON.

SERIES I.

• INTRODUCTION.

In order to understand the events which are set forth in the three following letters, it is necessary to recall very briefly the state of affairs which existed in western Europe during the years 1779 and 1780.

In April, 1779, a convention was signed between France and Spain in which each Power specified the advantages which it hoped to acquire for itself in the event of their coalition against England being successful. One of the chief objects of this alliance was the recapture of Gibraltar from the British, and the restoration of that fortress to Spain.

On 4th June, 1779, the French fleet from Brest joined the Spanish fleet. On 16th June, Spain declared war against Great Britain, and on 22nd July, the combined fleets entered the English Channel with 66 ships of the line. Here they remained for some weeks without, however, doing anything more than capturing one ship of the line off Plymouth Sound.

The following year (1780) the French and Spanish fleets again joined forces. This time, however, instead of entering the English Channel, they distributed themselves over the tract of sea through which the outward-bound trade of Great Britain to both the East and West Indies usually passed, and they succeeded in inflicting upon England the greatest disaster she experienced during the year.

Towards the end of July a fleet of Merchantmen and Transports bound for West Indies, and another for the East Indies, amongst which latter was the *Mount Stewart* with William Mercer on board, sailed from Portsmouth under the protection of a small convoy. In the early morning of 9th August they fell in with a division of the combined French and Spanish fleets numbering 30 sail. The convoy, consisting of the *Ramillies* and two frigates, as well as a few Merchantmen, succeeded in making good their escape, but 55 ships, (1) many of them laden with naval and military stores urgently required in the East and West Indies, were captured and brought in triumph to Cadiz, where the prisoners were landed on 23rd August.

The following extracts from the *India Gazette* of 1781 relate to the incident :

● April 21, 1781.—A letter in the English newspapers from an officer on board the *Hillsborough* mentions that 5 East India men and 52 West Indiamen were taken the 9th of August by the combined fleets ; the *Ramillies* and 2 Frigates escaped. It is reported that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the East India Company intends to ransom the 5 East Indiamen and their cargoes.

April 28, 1781.—Europe News taken from *Leyden Gazettes* to September 20, 1780.—A letter from an officer belonging to the *Hillsborough* mentions the very kind treatment the English prisoners have met with from the Spaniards, in consequence of Admiral Rodney's generous behaviour to those taken by him. The number of prisoners

(1) Mahan, in his *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, says 60 ships and 3,000 prisoners.

taken in the 5 Indiamen according to the returns of the Spanish commandant in Cadiz are as follows: Seamen 559, soldiers 226, officers of the Army 8, women 44, passengers 64.

September 15, 1781.—Cadiz, January 31.—The five English East Indiamen taken some time since are all fitted up in the [Spanish] King's service: two of them are going to the Havannah as store ships laden with necessaries: the others are fitted up as frigates and mount 30 guns each, though intended to serve chiefly as guarda costas, not being proper to be introduced into a fleet on account of their bad sailing.

The five East Indiamen which were captured were the *Mount Stewart* (758 tons, Capt. John Haldane), the *Royal George* (758 tons, Capt. Thomas Foxall) and the *Hillsborough* (723 tons, Capt. Pitt Collett), all bound for the "Coast and Bay" (Madras and Bengal), the *Godfrey* (716 tons, Capt. Henry Grueber), bound for Bombay, and the *Gatton* (758 tons, Capt. James Rattray), bound for St. Helena and Bencoolen. William Hickey's friend "Bob" Pott was a passenger on board the *Hillsborough* and was taken to Cadiz with the other prisoners (Hickey's Memoirs Vol. II., p. 382) among whom was also Thomas Hickey the painter.

LETTER I.

GEORGE DEMPSTER, M.P., of Dunnichen, near Forfar. (1732—1818.) He was a friend of the Mercers, and in his official capacity as a Director of the East India Company nominated young William Mercer to a Cadetship in 1780. He also appears to have given him letters of introduction to Warren Hastings and other persons of influence in Bengal. In 1762 he was elected M.P. for Forfar and Fife burghs, after a heated contest, which cost him upwards of £10,000. He served in Parliament for 28 years and was appointed in 1765 Secretary to the Scottish Order of the Thistle. In 1780 he was elected Provost of St. Andrews. Being elected a Director of the East India Company on 6th April, 1769, he showed himself adverse to the great political influence exercised by the Company, deeming it wiser to confine their action to commercial enterprise, and to leave the political government of Indian territory to native princes. Unable to alter a policy already well established, he withdrew from the Directorate, and became a parliamentary opponent of the Company, giving his support to Fox's India Bill. He died at Dunnichen on 13th February, 1818, in his 86th year. (Cf. Dict. Nat. Biog.).

No. I.

To Mr. Dempster.

CADIZ, SPAIN,
24th Augt. 1780.

My Dr. Sir,

I am sorry to inform you that we have been taken by the combined fleets of France and Spain. We were lucky enough to meet with a French Ship and

"In the year 1781 I was ordered to come to India on the *Mulgrave* Captain Urmston. In the interim, I gave in a proposal for raising a Company, for the India Service to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, and in consequence of that scheme, I was detained 8 months in England."

Had Mercer proceeded to Bengal in the *Earl of Mulgrave* (Capt. James Urmston), which sailed from Portsmouth on June 26, 1781, he would have found "Bob" Pott and his fair friend Emily Warren on board. Hickey writes :

In the beginning of February Pott told me he had agreed for the whole of the roundhouse and half the great cabin of the ship *Lord Mulgrave* . . . and that in consideration of a large sum of money the Captain had consented to receive Emily on board.

LETTER IV.

On 6th February, 1782, William Mercer left Portsmouth on board the *Ganges* which formed one of a fleet of Indiamen bound for the East Indies, under escort of a squadron destined to reinforce Admiral Sir Edward Hughes in those parts.

THE COMMODORE—Sir Richard Bickerton. (1727—1792.) Entered the Navy, 1739: knighted, 1773: Baronet, May, 1778. Took part in the battle of Ushant, July, 1778. In 1781 was appointed to the *Gibraltar* as Commodore of the 1st Class. Served in the East Indies, 1782—84: at the action off Cuddalore, June, 1783. Vice-Admiral, 1790: Port Admiral at Plymouth till his death, Feb. 25, 1792. Was M.P. for Rochester. (Cf. *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.)

A GUINEA MAN was, of course, a ship used in trading to the coast of Guinea.

CAPTAIN RALPH DUNDAS, Commander of the Indiaman *Royal Henry*. On his voyage home to England he married, March, 1784, at St. Helena, Elizabeth Wrangham. Her elder sister, Amelia (Emma) Wrangham, who was known as "the beautiful Miss Wrangham," and was the toast of Calcutta in 1781 and 1782, became the wife of John Bristow, Resident at Lucknow. (Cf. *Echoes from old Calcutta*, 4th edn.; also S. C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.) Another sister married Colonel John Ulric Collins (see Letter X^{VI}).

GENERAL SIR JOHN BURGOYNE, 7th Baronet, of Sutton, Beds. (1739—1785.) In 1781 he was commissioned to raise a Regiment of Light Dragoons for service in India, the first European cavalry sent out to that country. This Corps, originally known as the 23rd Light Dragoons, was formed out of drafts from other Regiments and had its rendezvous at Bedford. Standards, now in possession of 19th Hussars, were presented to it by George III, and early in 1782 it embarked, with other reinforcements, on board the East India fleet under convoy of Admiral Sir R. Bickerton, and landed at Madras towards the end of the year. Under its changed name of the 19th Light Dragoons (it was renumbered in 1786) it subsequently won great renown on Indian battlefields, particularly under Lt.-Colonel John Floyd, (afterwards General Sir John Floyd, Bart. He accompanied the Regiment from England in 1781) in Cornwallis'

Campaign of 1791—92 against Tippoo Sultan. Burgoyne was promoted to the rank of Major-General on the Madras Staff in 1783, and died at Madras, Sept. 23rd, 1785, being buried in the Fort Church at that place. (Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, also *The XIX and their Times*, by Col. John Biddulph.)

"The passage must be a very long one." Mahan, in his *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, says, "Bickerton, leaving England with a convoy in February, was thought to have done well in reaching Bombay the following September."

"The Commodore has been afraid of going too near the coast after what happened last year." This probably refers to the sudden and unexpected attack made (16th April, 1781) by the French fleet, under Admiral Suffren, on Commodore Johnstone's squadron which was lying in the neutral port of Porto Praya in the Cape de Verd Islands. Both fleets were racing for the Cape of Good Hope, and Johnstone, having the start of the French fleet, thought himself secure from attack. Although but little damage was done to his squadron, Johnstone abandoned his original project and returned to England with his frigates, whilst the remainder of his ships and transports pursued their way to Bombay. Admiral Suffren sailed for Mauritius where he arrived towards the end of October.

No. IV.

To Willm. Mercer Esq. Perth North Britain.

4th May. (1782.)

My Dr. Father

As part of our convoy will probably leave us in a short time on their return to England I wish to give you a little history of our expedition so far. We sailed from Portsmouth on Wednesday the 6th on the 8th the Nassau joined us of Plymouth. She was an Indiaman belonging to the east fleet that sailed and putt back having lost the convoy. On the 9th we made Scilly and bore away to Cape Clear that we might be out of the way of the combined fleet, the 18th it blowing very hard our Main Top Mast went over the side but there was another gott up before night. We are now gott into Latitude 38 North and supposed ourselves of the Western Islands. We certainly from the winds we have had might have been as far as the Cape de Verd Islands, but the Commodore has been afraid of going too near the Coast after what happened last year, however I am very happy where I am and am in no great hurry to gett to India. Our fleett at present consists of twelve saill of the line, 3 frigates and a cutter eighteen India Men two Store Ships and a Guinea Man. Six Saill of the line and 3 frigate, are to leave us, the rest go on to India. I fancy our first place of relais will be at Rio Janeiro on the Coast of Brasil, but this is mere conjecture, we have already gott into very pleasant weather the Thermometer is at sixty which would be remarkable in Brittain on the 26th Feby. . . .

The Commodore informed us there had been fourteen French saill of the line looking for us in the Bay, and likewise a large fleett of Spaniards looking for us to the Southward. On the 27th in the evening saw land which we took

for the Island of St. Mary's. At night a soldier died after having walked to the Medicine Chest about an hour before.

28th. Moderate fine weather with very little wind.

March 1st. Weather Moderately warm went on Board the *Royal Henry* Capt. Dundass, where I learn from Sir John Burgoyne that the *Fleett* is to cross the Line in 17 or 18 Degrees of West Longitude, and are afterwards to go to Rio Janeiro on the Coast of Brasil where it is probable we shall be about the 9th of May. It is by all accounts one of the best Portuguese settlements, situated in Lat. 22.10 S. and as the Portuguese are jealous of all strangers, there are two small islands close to the anchoring place which is appropriated for strangers to pitch their tents. Sir John Burgoyne intends encamping his regiment there if he can obtain leave.

March 3rd. The ships destined to return to England left us but as it blows very hard there has been no opportunity of sending letters to England which is a great disappointment to the whole fleett. We have been thirteen days after losing the North East Trade untill we gott the South East.

April 24th. Saw a gannett which is a sure sign of being in Soundings and near the Land. On the 25th saw the Land supposed to be Cape St. Thomas on the Coast of Brasil, immediately after the wind came right ahead and drove us out to sea.

April 27th. We again made the Land which proves to be Cape Frio on the Coast of Brasil.

May 1st. Gott into Harbour of Rio Janeiro.

Ganges, Harbour of Rio Janeiro.

This is the most romantick spott I have ever seen, the Harbour excessively safe and large. We found on our arrival here that the *Sceptre* and *Medea* who parted company with us after we left England, had been here waiting us for some time and were gone to Madras, they have had some quarrells with the inhabitants which we suffer for,

This seems to be a poor place and the Portuguese are very jealous, they don't allow us to sleep on shore, and send guards with us while we are on shore, that being the case the shore has no great temptations. We gett plenty of good fish, beef indifferent, fruit and vegetable plenty, consisting of peese French beans, greens, oranges, Pine apples, plantanes, guavas, and many other fruits, watter plenty. We have a great deal of society among the Ships and have no dependence on the shore.

The fleet has in general been healthy since we left England, we have lost four soldiers on the passage, the sick are all sent to an Island on shore. Capt Dempster and I have been on the best terms, and are exceedingly happy together. This I send by a Lisbon packet which saills tomorrow. I fancy we shall remain here near a month, they talk of a Cutter going to England when we leave this, which will give us another opportunity of writing to Europe and which I shall not neglect.

The people here seem to be in much the same situation with those at Lisbon, very much oppressed by the Church and Government, this is the Capitall of all Brasil is governed by a Vice King, and is the seat of an Arch-

bishop. The only amusement is a Portuguese Opera which I have not yett seen.

The Commodore talks of going to Madagascar after he leaves this, if that is the case the passage must be a very long one. I must now conclude by making offer of my love to my Mother, Sisters, and all the Family, and I flatter myself it will give them pleasure to know that I have enjoyed as perfect health during the passage, as I could have done on shore, and nothing but the hopes of seeing my Brother Laurie could make me think the passage long. May God Bless you all is the Wish of

Your Affectionate Son
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

* * * * *

LETTER V.

"Above nine hundred men sick." The whole fleet suffered severely from scurvy during the voyage, and reached Bombay with its *personnel* in a very crippled condition.

JACK DEMPSTER—Capt. J. H. Dempster, George Dempster's brother, who commanded the *Ganges*, Indiaman from 1782 to 1785, and the *Rose* from 1787 to 1793. He was lost in the *Earl Talbot* in October 1800 on Pratas Island in the China Sea.

MR. STABLES—John Stables, (?* (3)—1795). He was originally in the Army and went from Madras to Bengal as an Ensign. He commanded a battalion at the battle of Buxar, 23 October, 1764. Retired, 1769. Became a Director of the East India Company, but resigned in September, 1781, when he was nominated a Member of Council to fill Francis' place. Took his seat in Council, 11 November, 1782. He was supposed at home to be a supporter of Warren Hastings, but, as it eventually appeared, the very reverse was the case. Hastings writes in October, 1783, "Stables . . . opposes me with a rancour so uncommon, that it extends even to his own friends, if my wishes chance to precede his own in any proposal to serve them." (Cf. *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.) While in Calcutta he lived in Mrs. Hastings house (now known as 7 Hastings Street). Ozias Humphry the artist stayed there with him on his arrival in August 1785 and painted a portrait of him for which he received Rs. 500. He died 31st January, 1795, at Wonham, near Reigate, an estate which he had purchased from the third Baron Romney. His son, Lieut. Colonel Edward Stables, of the Grenadier Guards, was killed at the battle of Waterloo (1815).

(3) The year of Stables' birth is given as 1750 in the *Cornwallis Correspondence*. This can hardly be correct, as it is highly improbable that he would be in command of a battalion at the tender age of 14. The *Dictionary of Indian Biography* states that he volunteered with Col. Caillaud in Nov. 1759, and commanded a detachment at Monghyr in Dec. 1760. His death is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1795 : Vol. I, pp. 171, 252).

No. V.

To Wm. Mercer Esq. Perth, North Britain.

RIO JANEIRO, COAST BRASIL,
21st May 1782.

Dr. Father

I wrote you some time since by way of Lisbon there is another pacquett goes by the same way tomorrow, we have been here this three weeks and I believe will leave this in the course of five or six days. The Portuguese have been very civil to us, more from fear than inclination, I believe. It is proposed to go straight from here to Madras but as we have at present above nine hundred sick belonging to the military establishment it is doubtfull whether or not we shall be able to gett that length without touching at Madagascar. There is to be a Cutter sent home to England the day we sail from this by which I shall certainly write, tell Mr. Dempster that he may hear of some *gallant engagement* of his brother Jack before we gett to India, as the *Ganges* and the *Royal Henry* are the only two India Men taken into the Line. Jack Dempster and I have lived together with the greatest Harmony I have received from him every civility he could have shown to his brother. We are now living at a place opposite to Rio Janeiro and our party consists of Mr. Stables who is going out one of the Supreme Council to Bengal, and whom I think myself exceedingly lucky in being acquainted with here, the rest are Capt. Dundass of the *Royal Henry*, Capt. Brown of the *Alfred*, Capt. Thomson of the *Calcutta*, Capt. Dempster and your Humble Servant. We employ our time in the following manner. We rise at $\frac{1}{2}$ past five gett a Horseback ride until $\frac{1}{2}$ past eight breakfast, if the sun is not too hot sail for two or three hours in the Bay. Dine at two walk in the cooll of the Evening sup at eight and are all in bed by nine. The heatt of the climate makes it necessary to keep very early hours. Give my love to my Mother and all the rest of the Family and Believe me to be your affectionate Son

(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

* * * * *

LETTER VI.

“The fair sex who go out to India to seek their fortunes.” Cf. *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. VI. No. 13, “Leaves from the Editor’s Note Book.” Mr. Firminger quotes from Vol. V. of H.D. Sandeman’s *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette* :—

“The speculative ladies who have come out in the different ships, dress themselves with all the splendour they can assume, exhausting upon finery all the little stock of money they have brought out with them from Europe. This in truth is their last, or nearly last stake, and they are all determined to look and dance as divinely as possible.”

No. VI.

To Miss Mercer.

RIO JANEIRO, COAST OF BRASIL.

May 21st 1782.

My Dr. Annie

I wrote my father some time since but as the conveyance is but uncertain I miss no opportunity. We have been here this three weeks it is a very pleasant climate the ladies seldom are seen (I mean the Portuguese) for we have ten or twelve *English Ladies* in the Fleet going out with *different views* to India. The General (Sir John Burgoyne) gave us a Ball last night very brilliant, the ladies of this country were loaded with Diamonds, but they are not of the first watter (ni les dames ni les diamants) nor are our own ladies here very *taking*. It is not generally the most *amiable* part of the *fair sex* who go out to India to seek their *fortunes*. The ladies here are carried in chairs which have a pole run through the head, are supported by two slaves, and have curtains round them. The cariage seems very uneasy their wheelled carriages are something like a two wheelled one my father had as long ago as I can remember and are drawn by two mules and having no springs you find yourself much more at your ease on foott than mounted. The mornings and evenings here are charming you are obliged to keep the house in the middle of the day from the heatt of the sun. Almost all kinds of fruitts grow here wild oranges by thousands pine apples &c. Fish in great plenty, in short we want nothing but the company of our friends to make us happy. From speaking the Language I am providing for the family here so I must go and look out for Dinner. Give my love to my Brothers and Sisters. Believe me to be your Affectionate Brother.

(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

* * * * *

LETTER VII.

"Mr. Stables . . . is cutt out for making himself and every person near him happy." This statement is scarcely reconcilable with what we read elsewhere of Stables' character and disposition. Warren Hastings writes, "In Council he (Stables) sits sulky and silent, waiting to declare his opinion when mine is recorded; or if he speaks, it is to ask questions of cavil, or to contradict, in language not very guarded, and with a tone of insolence which I should ill bear from an equal, and which often throws me off the guard of my prudence." (Vide *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.) The author adds, "The sullenness of Stables' temper seems to have been the characteristic that impressed itself most readily on men's minds."

Stables, nevertheless, during the whole period of his stay in India, appears to have been on the most friendly terms with Mercer, *protégé* though the latter was of his political opponent Hastings.

No. VII.

*To George Dempster Esq., M.P., London.*RIO JANEIRO,
May 28, 1782.

My Dr. Sir

We have been here this three weeks and a few days and on the 30th are to leave this place and proceed on our journey to India. In our walks through this part of the world Jack and I have often wished you of the party as we were convinced you would enjoy a country where nature furnished everything without the least culture. Our party has been excessively pleasant and wanted nothing but you to make it completely so. It consisted of Mr. Stables, whom you must have known in England, and who I think is cutt out for making himself, and every person near him happy. I look on myself as exceedingly lucky in getting acquainted with him here, as it has afforded me great satisfaction, and may be of great use to me hereafter. The rest of the party are Capts. Dundass, Thomson, Brown, Jack and your Huble Servant. We are situated five miles from Rio Janeiro on the opposite side of the Bay and perfectly retired from the Bustle of the City. We gett up at sunrise which is about half past five mount our horses and ride untill half past eight, Breakfast walk as long as the sun will permitt, dine at two, at four gett into the boatts sail about the Bay which is delightful, about thirty leagues in length and two in breadth interspersed with islands which produce cotton, oranges. &c. We sup at eight and all hands are in bed by nine.

May 29th. Part of the Fleett are now under way and going down to the outer road, the rest follow tomorrow.

Present my best respects to Mrs. D. and beleive me to be with the Greatest Esteem.

Yrs Affectionately,
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

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No. VIII.

*To Wm. Mercer Esq., Perth. N.B.*ST. DOMINGO OPPOSITE RIO JANEIRO,
May 28th 1782.

My Dr. Father

Part of the fleett are now unmoored and sail from this tomorrow, and we are to sail the next day, as all the fleett cant gett out in one day. There is a cutter to be sent home by which I am sure you will receive my letters.

I have wrote you twice by way of Lisbon which I am not so sure of your getting. The Portuguese and the fleett have been on the best terms and nothing but civility on both sides. On the length of our passage depends whether we go straight to Madrass or touch at Madagascar, and there is doubt whether we shall be able to gett to Madrass before the change of the Monsoon, to effect this we must gett there by the last day of September as

the ships must leave it by the 10th of Octr. there is no lying with safety in that road after that time. If we are latter of getting on that coast we must go to Bombay. I am however so pleasantly situated on board that I am not the least uneasy where we go, and I shall gett to Bengal sooner or later. The next time you hear from me will be from some part in India. I shall enclose this to Mr. Dempster as I should think myself very unfratefull were I to miss any opportunity of writting him. By the time you receive this I suppose we shall be tossing of the Cape of Good Hope, we pass it in the middle of their winter and I am told have strong gales of wind, but they are fair for us, and of course we shall not be long in that quarter of the Globe, but I shall be able to tell you more of that in my next.

Present my love to my Mother and all the rest of the family and Believe me to be

Your Affectionate Son
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

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SERIES III.

INTRODUCTION.

INDIA IN 1782.

Before disembarking with our author at Bombay, let us turn our attention for a few moments to the events which had taken place in India, both by sea and land, since the beginning of the year 1782.

We have already seen how Admiral Suffren with the French fleet, after attacking and disabling the English squadron under Commodore Johnstone off Porto Praya, had made his way to Mauritius, where he arrived on 25th October, 1781. Sailing thence in January, 1782, Suffren arrived off Pulicat, north of Madras, on 15th February, where he found the British fleet under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes lying at anchor.

Two days later (17th February) was fought the first of a series of five naval actions between these two Commanders. The result was indecisive, although the French had the advantage in numbers, 12 ships to the British 9.

After the battle Hughes sailed for Trincomalee in order to repair two of his ships which were disabled. The harbour of Trincomalee in Ceylon was the most important harbour on the east coast. Its value as a naval base of supplies was, however, at this period considerably discounted by the fact that it had been captured from the Dutch so recently as 11th January of this year, and was, therefore, not yet well supplied. The French having no friendly port and no base of supplies whatsoever, the capture of Trincomalee was an object of the greatest importance to that nation.

At the end of a fortnight Hughes had completed the necessary repairs to his ships and sailed for Madras, which place he reached on 12th March. Here, on 30th March, he was joined by two 74's from England.

In the meantime, Suffren had rejoined his transports at Pondicherry, and,

after landing some 3000 troops at Porto Novo on 10th March, sailed with the object of cutting off the reinforcements which he knew Hughes was expecting. For this he was too late, the two ships from England having already joined the main body.

Early in April Hughes sailed for Trincomalee with reinforcements and military stores for that garrison. Suffren came out to intercept him, and on 8th April both squadrons came within sight of each other.

On 12th April a second stern but indecisive fight took place off the coast of Ceylon, the English losing 137 killed and 430 wounded in 11 ships. After the battle both fleets anchored off the island and refitted.

Suffren finished his repairs first, and on 3rd June he sailed for Cuddalore where he arrived on 22nd June, having halted *en route* at Tranquebar, a Dutch possession, in order to harass the English communications between Madras and the fleet at Trincomalee.

Hughes landed his sick and refitted at Trincomalee ; eventually leaving that port, in order to follow Suffren, on 23rd June. Suffren moved out to meet him, and on 5th July anchored off Cuddalore in sight of the English.

On the following day (6th July) Hughes attacked, and a third indecisive naval action ensued, in which, however, the French fleet suffered less damage than the English.

Hughes was obliged to go to Madras to repair his ships, whilst Suffren was able to complete his repairs and be ready for sea again by 18th July. The latter thereupon determined to strike a blow at Trincomalee whilst the English fleet was still *hors de combat*. He sailed accordingly for Ceylon and arrived off Batticaloa on 9th August, where he waited for reinforcements and supplies from France. These joined him on 21st August. Two days later he sailed, now with 14 ships of the line, and anchored off Trincomalee on the 25th.

Apprehensive of the arrival of the British fleet, he landed his troops (over 2,000 men) the following night, and pressed the attack upon the two forts with such vigour that on the 30th the garrison, which could hardly have exceeded 500 men—British troops strange to the climate and terribly sickly—was obliged to capitulate, and marched out with all the honours of war.

Meanwhile, Hughes, having completed his repairs, and fearing for the safety of Trincomalee, left Madras on 20th August with 12 ships of the line. On the evening of 2nd September the English squadron was sighted by Suffren's fleet, and on the following morning was fought the fourth action between these two naval Commanders.

On this occasion Hughes had the satisfaction of inflicting considerable damage upon his opponent, although he was obliged for the present to abandon the hope of recapturing Trincomalee. He withdrew at once to Madras, whilst Suffren, after repairing damages in port at Trincomalee, sailed for Cuddalore, which place was reached on 4th October.

How far Hughes' long delay at Madras was unavoidable is uncertain, but it can scarcely be doubted that a more energetic Commander would have found some means of completing his repairs in sufficient time to admit of his striking a blow for the safety of Trincomalee. Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* of the

period openly accused him of wasting his time on shore at the court of our ally the Nawab of Arcot, instead of taking his ships to sea.

On 17th October Hughes was obliged, owing to the change of the monsoon, to repair to Bombay, and four days later Bickerton reached Madras from Bombay with the reinforcement of 5 ships of the line which he had brought out from England. Not having fallen in with Hughes, Bickerton sailed at once, and was back in Bombay harbour by 28th November, actually a few days before Hughes' scattered fleet, having experienced rough weather, dropped in one by one.

On 15th October Suffren, finding the resources of Trincomalee insufficient for his squadron, sailed and anchored off Achem on 2nd November.

Here for the present we will leave them, the British Admiral at Bombay and the French Admiral at Achem ; no further event of importance occurring before the close of the year.

On land, the beginning of 1782 found us still at war in the Carnatic with Hyder Ali, who had been joined by the French force. In January, 1782, the Madras army, commanded by Sir Eyre Coote, accompanied by a detachment from Bengal under Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, advanced towards Vellore and succeeded in relieving that place on the 11th. In April Cuddalore was captured by the French under Bussy. In September Sir Eyre Coote, broken down in health, returned to Calcutta, and the command of the army devolved upon Major-General Stuart.

On the Malabar coast the English settlement of Tellicherry, which had held out against Hyder Ali for two years, was relieved early in the year by reinforcements under Major Abington. In Tanjore a force under Colonel Braithwaite was surprised and cut to pieces by an army under Tipoo Sultan, Hyder Ali's son.

On the Bombay side hostilities, which had been in progress with the Mahrattas for four years, came to an end early in March ; and the Bombay army, together with a detachment from Bengal, were quietly awaiting the ratification of the treaty.

Such is a brief résumé of the transactions which had taken place in the East Indies since William Mercer left England.

LETTER IX.

CAPTAIN GEORGE AUSTIN, of the Bengal Army. Cadet 1771 ; Ensign, 25 March, 1773 ; Lieutenant, 22 May, 1778 ; Captain, 16 January, 1784. It will be seen from the above that he was only a Lieutenant at the date of this letter, and Mercer was mistaken in calling him Captain. He died at Cawnpore, 20th July, 1789.

"Part of the Bengal Army that is here at present." Early in 1778 a detachment from the Bengal army was despatched from Cawnpore to the assistance of the Bombay Government who were engaged in a struggle with the Mahrattas under their two principal chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar. It consisted of six battalions of Sepoys from the First Brigade ; a regiment of Native

Cavalry (which in June, 1796, became the 1st Bengal Light Cavalry, and subsequently mutined at Mhow in 1857); a company of Native Artillery; and the "Kandahar Horse," a Corps 500 strong lent by the Nawab of Oudh, which became the 2nd Bengal Light Cavalry in June, 1796, and was disbanded for misconduct in Afghanistan in 1841. The Bengal detachment greatly distinguished itself in the ensuing operations which extended over a period of four years.

"Peace is concluded with the Marathas." In October, 1781, a treaty was concluded with Sindhia, and in the following March a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon between the English and the Maharatta Government. The treaty of Salbye was concluded on 17th May, 1782, but, owing to the persistent rumours which reached the Mahrattas that Hastings' enemies in England had succeeded in securing his recall, was not finally ratified until February, 1783. The Bengal troops remained quietly at Bombay until after the ratification of the treaty, when they returned to their own Presidency, reaching Cawnpore in April, 1784, with their original numbers greatly reduced.

"Change that has taken place in the Ministry." Lord North resigned on 20th March, 1782. The new Ministry was that of Lords Rockingham and Shelburne, with Burke as Paymaster of the Forces. With Dundas, Burke, and Fox against him, Hastings' censure and recall seemed imminent, and news to that effect had already reached India. The resolution requiring his recall did not, however, receive the support of the majority in Parliament, and Hastings writes under date 16th December, 1782, "I have received a Letter from Major Scott dated the 1st July . . . By the same Letter I learn that the Proprietors had resolved not to yield to the Opinion of the House of Commons for my removal, and that other Events had happened which were favourable to me."

GENERAL STUART—Major-General James Stuart of Torrance. Captain in 1755. Entered the East India Company's military service in Madras in 1775. Arrested the Governor of Madras, Lord Pigot, in 1776: tried by Court Martial and acquitted in 1780. He lost his left leg blew the knee from a cannon shot at Pollilur on 27th August, 1781, within five minutes of the commencement of the action. Succeeded to the command of the Army at Madras in September, 1782, on Sir Eyre Coote's departure to Bengal. Commanded at the siege and capture of Cuddalore, 13th June, 1783. For refusing to obey the Government of Madras, was arrested and sent to England. He subsequently, in 1786, fought a duel in Hyde Park with Lord Macartney, the ex-Governor of Madras, in which the latter was severely wounded. He died 2nd February, 1793.

SIR EDWARD HUGHES—(1720?—1794.) Entered the Navy in 1734. Captain, 1747. Served in America and in the West Indies. Naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, 1773—77, and again from 1779—1783. Rear-Admiral and K.C.B. in 1778. Capture of Negapatam, 1781: took Trincomalee January, 1782. Admiral of the Blue, 1793. Died, 17 Feb., 1794. Hicky in his *Bengal Gazette* nicknamed him "Sir Edward Durbar," from his supposed fondness for the society of the Nawab of Arcot. He was an old friend of

Warren Hastings. A painstaking naval Commander, he appears, nevertheless, to have been lacking in dash and energy.

GENERAL THOMAS GODDRD—(1740?—1783.) In January, 1764, whilst still a Captain, he raised the 18th Battalion of Bengal Native Infantry, called after him "Gaurud-ki-paltan." In October, 1778, as a Colonel, he was appointed to supersede Colonel Leslie in the command of the Bengal Contingent which was marching across India to aid the Bombay army against the Maharattas. In 1779 he was promoted Brigadier-General. Captured Mhow ; Ahmedabad, 15 Feb., 1780 ; surprised and defeated Sindhia, 3 April, 1780. Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army in 1780. Captured Bassein, 11 December, 1780 ; and Arnalla, January, 1781. He was obliged to return to England owing to ill health, and died at sea, off the Land's End, 7th July, 1783.

TRINQUEMALLAY is, of course Trincomalee. By the time this letter was written Trincomalee had, as we have already seen, been captured by the French, and Admiral Hughes had withdrawn his fleet to Madras.

MARK WOOD—afterwards Sir Mark Wood, Bart. (1747-1829.) Eldest son of Alexander Wood of Perth. Joined the Bengal Engineers in 1772. Became Surveyor-General, 1787 ; Chief Engineer in Bengal, 1790. He was one of the six officers who in 1782-3 assisted Captain Kirkpatrick (afterwards Major-General William Kirkpatrick, Military Secretary to Lord Wellesley) to found the Bengal Military Orphan Society. The outcome of their labours was the establishment of the orphanage at Kidderpore House, Alipore, which continued to exist as such until a few years ago. From 1780 to 1785 he was engaged in surveying Calcutta and the country on the banks of the river Hughli to the sea. Wood returned to England on account of ill health in 1793, and in 1795 was brought into the King's service as a Colonel. Elected M.P. in 1794, 1796 and 1802, retiring in 1818. Made a Baronet in 1808. Died, 6th February, 1829. The title became extinct in 1837 on the death of his second son, Mark.

No. IX.

To Wm. Mercer Esq., Perth.

BOMBAY,
Sept. 16th 1782.

My Dr. Father

I have at last gott the length of India, and met here with Capt. George Austin, who belongs to the part of the Bengal Army that is here at present, but as a peace is concluded with the Maratthas, that part of the army are going to march back to Bengal. . . . We were very much astonished on our arrival here to find the tottal change that has taken place in the Ministry. I hope Mr. Dempster comes in for his share, if Mr. Hastings or the Commander-in Chief is changed, I must attempt getting letters to their successors. If a general peace throughout India should take place before I gett to Calcutta I shall attempt getting into the Civil Line but in all these things I shall be determined by Laurie when we meet. Sir Edward Hughes has had two or

nourishment ; and if dhol is sometimes given to the troops, it is in lieu of rice, so that it does not answer the end proposed—the troops are starving.”

LORD McARTNEY—George, only Earl Macartney, K.B. (1737—1806.) Born, 14th May, 1737. After acting as Envoy Extraordinary at St. Petersburg, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Governor of Grenada, held the office of Governor of Madras from June 22, 1781 to June 8, 1785. In February, 1785, shortly after Hastings' departure for England, he visited Calcutta and was offered the Governor-Generalship, which he declined. In 1792 he went to Peking as Plenipotentiary of the first British Mission sent to China, and in 1795 was deputed on a Mission to Louis XVIII of France. Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, 1796—98. Created Baron, June 10, 1776; Earl, June 28, 1792 (Irish honours) ; and an English Baron, June 8, 1796. He died March 31, 1806.

GENERAL RICHARD SMITH—In August, 1765, when a Colonel, was given the command of the newly-formed 2nd Brigade at Allahabad. After serving as Commander-in-Chief, he left India in 1770 ; having, so it is said, acquired an immense fortune. He was elected M.P. for Hendon in 1774 and 1775, and was twice turned out for bribery, for which he was prosecuted, convicted, and sentenced to a fine and six months' imprisonment in the King's Bench. M.P. for Wendover and Wareham from October, 1780 to June, 1790. He was one of the leading spirits in the Parliamentary proceedings for censuring Hastings and Impey. In England he went by the name of Hyder Ali, and his son by the name of Tipoo. Grand in his *Narrative* states that he was the original of Sir Matthew Mite in Foote's Comedy of "The Nabob." Grand also states that he was instrumental in saving the Banking House of the Drummonds by paying in £150,000 in Banknotes when, owing to the failure of other Houses, an unexpected run was made on it in 1772.

MR. FRANCIS—afterwards Sir Philip Francis. (1740—1818.) The details of his life are too well known to need recapitulation here. Suffice it to say that he left India in December, 1780, and had set his heart upon becoming Governor-General. Having quarrelled with Fox, he failed to realize his ambition.

NO. X.

To Wm. Mercer Esq.

CALCUTTA,
Novr. 30 1782.

My Dr. Father

I thank God I have at last gott to Bengal, and find Laurie is perfectly well he is up the Country at Patna I have not yett seen him, he is in a very Respectable line but not in a line for making a fortune in a hurry. He is Judge of the Adawlett at Patna, and has an Income of about three thousand a year but his expenses are at least adequate to his Income. However I find he is very much respected here and will soon probably gett something that will enable him to send home some honey. I am at present a Lieut. and the good people here have promised to do something for me. I am by no means sorry at coming

to this country, as I think I shall do much better than at home. I may call this a home, as I have schoolfellows all round me Robert Stewart Mark and George Wood &c. &c. are all well. The French Fleett are still on the Coast ours they say is gone to Bombay. At Madrass they are in the Center of War, and 400 a day dying for want of rice, here, there is nothing seen but Peace and Plenty, the contrast is great in so short a Distance. They are preparing to send them great quantities of rice from this. I came here at a lucky time of the year the beginning of the cold season, and of course find it perfectly agreeable, and shall come into the Hott season by degrees. I can give you no account of this country as yet. From the letters I brought have had a good Reception here from the Governor General and Commander in Chief. There are reports here that Lord McArtney, General Smith, Mr. Francis or George Dempster are to come out here at the head of affairs, but matters seem to be in a very unsettled state I shall be able to give my ideas better in my next & am

Your Affectionate Son
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

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LETTER XI.

“Their assemblies are pleasant with good suppers after them.” Public subscription dances, or assemblies, used at this date to be held in what was called the Harmonic House, or Tavern. Dances took place once a week throughout the cold weather, from the end of October to the end of February, subscribers paying for the whole series. Stewards and a Master of Ceremonies were elected from amongst the leading gentlemen subscribers. Masquerades, or Fancy Dress balls, and Dominos were very popular. In 1784 a second Assembly room, called the London Tavern, was opened. The following advertisement appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 28, 1784:—

“The Stewards request the subscribers will send to the Harmonic House for their tickets, on the day of each Assembly. The doors will be opened at one-half past seven o’clock. The Minuettes to commence precisely at one-half past eight, and supper be served at one-half past ten.

“The dancing to begin immediately after supper ; and two Country Dances and a Cotillon to be continued alternately throughout the evening.

“No Hookas to be admitted upstairs.”

A Correspondent to the *Calcutta Gazette*, writing under date the 21st of October, 1784, says:—

“It is with infinite delight I have observed the rapid progress we are daily making in all those polite and refined entertainments, which have so strong a tendency to humanize the mind, and render life pleasing and agreeable. Calcutta, in the elegance of its amusements, and the fashionable style in which they are carried on, will shortly vie with most of the cities *even in Europe*. If they boast of their plays, masquerades, assemblies, and concerts, we can pride ourselves in the same with equal propriety and justice. Do their public walks, and genteel places of resort, abound with belles and beaux? And have

we not also our numerous beauties, who charm the eye and enthrall the heart? Is there a more lovely sight of the enchanting fair to be seen in *Kensington Gardens* of a morning, than what the *Course* presents to our view here of like attractions in an evening?"

CAPT. GEORGE BURRINGTON—was transferred as a captain from the King's to the Company's service on September 1, 1768; and was promoted to be major in 1780, lieut.-colonel in 1783 and colonel in 1794. When the Daniells visited Monghyr in October 1788, he was in command of the station. The artists were entertained by him and made a sketch of his house. He was killed on October 26, 1794, at the battle of Bitaurah near Bareilly; and his name heads the list of those inscribed on the Rohilla monument in St. John's Church-yard, Calcutta. His wife Helen (Nancy) whom he married at Dunnichen, co. Forfar, on October 3, 1776, was the third daughter of John Dempster. Three of his daughters married members of the Bengal Civil Service: Helen at Bankipore on January 1, 1794, to Francis Hawkins, Collector of Saran; Nancy at Dinapore on February 9, 1795, to Henry Williams; and Charlotte at Chuprah on May 2, 1796 to Charles Boddam, judge and magistrate of Saron.

NO. XI.

To Miss Mercer.

CALCUTTA
Novr. 30th 1782.

My Dr. Sister

I can give you very little idea of this country as yett. I have been here about five weeks, however I have been here long enough to like it. They have all kind of public places here the same as in Europe but in a more expensive line, their assemblies are pleasant with good suppers after them. I live at Captain Burringtons who married Nancy Dempster he is a very pleasant Fellow and an old King's officer so we agree perfectly well together. I wish to God you were out here, for the ladies are adored here, and of course very much at home, but to tell the truth they are not in general of the first rate. Laurie I have not yett seen he is up at Patna and a great man, he is Judge of a large district, and of course a man of consequence. . . . I have heard from him several times and he has taken great pains I should not be a Stranger on my arrival here, as he had a house ready for me and recommended me to all his acquaintances in short I have found him what I could wish for in a brother. I am glad to see by the Newspapers that Jeanie Moncrieffe is married. Pray give my love to my Mother and all the rest of the Family and Believe me to be

Yours Affectionately
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

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LETTER XII.

THE GOVERNOR'S BODY GUARD—The correct designation of this Corps was "The Governor-General's Body Guard." Although the title of *Governor-General* had been conferred on Warren Hastings on Oct. 20, 1774, yet it appears to have been quite common, even so late as this period, to talk of him as merely the *Governor*. Mercer used both titles indiscriminately throughout the following letters.

The Governor-General's Body Guard was, at this period, composed of a Troop of Cavalry and a Battalion of Infantry, each commanded by a Subaltern with a second Subaltern under him. It is probably the former of the two to which Mercer refers, as it was then one officer short of strength ; whereas the Infantry Body Guard had its full complement of British officers.

The Infantry Body Guard was taken over from the service of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh in 1782, and in Civil Proceedings of July 4, of the same year its establishment was fixed at :—2 British Officers (Lieutenants Polhill and Calcraft) ; 6 British N.C.O.'s ; 19 Native Officers ; and 617 rank and file, with some Artillery attached. On Hastings' departure from India it was disbanded by his Successor, Macpherson. (Minutes of Council of Feb. 15, 1785.)

The Governor-General's Troop of Body Guard had been formed by Warren Hastings at Benares in September, 1773. When first raised it consisted of 50 Troopers, but towards the end of the year its strength was augmented by the addition of 50 Horse supplied by Rajah Cheyt Singh of Benares. Its full establishment at the period of which we are now speaking was :—1 Captain ; 1 Lieutenant ; 1 Sergeant-Major ; 2 Sergeants ; 1 Risaldar ; 6 Dafadars ; 2 Trumpeters ; and 100 Troopers.

Since the 4th of July, on which date the Commandant was transferred to the command of the Infantry Body Guard, the Troop had been commanded by Lieutenant Samuel Turner, cousin to Warren Hastings, whose acquaintance we shall make later, and the post of second officer was vacant.

This Corps, although it had been in existence for only 9 years, had already made a name for itself on service against the Saniyasis in 1773—74, in the Rohilla Campaign of 1774, and against the troops of the rebellious Cheyt Singh in 1781. A glance at the battle-honours borne on its appointments at the present day will show how its reputation, established thus early in its career, has been maintained throughout succeeding generations. Nor do these Honours represent the sum total of the achievements of the Corps. Two which should be there, viz. "MYSORE," and "EGYPT" with the Sphinx, are missing, owing to the anomalous and slipshod manner in which Honours were granted in days gone by.

With regard to Mercer's statement to the effect that the duration of the Body Guard was very uncertain ; rumours of Hastings' impending supercession and recall were universally current in Calcutta towards the end of this year (1782); and it was evidently thought to be more than probable that his successor, whoever he might be, would, in order to curry favour with the Court of Directors at home, cut down much of the pomp and circumstance with

which Hastings, rightly deeming it to be consistent with the dignity of the office of Governor-General, thought fit to surround himself.

Hastings' detractors were ever on the look-out for some fresh crime of which to accuse him ; and the mere fact of his keeping up both a mounted and a dismounted Body Guard as well as eight Aides-de-Camp was, in their eyes, sufficient proof of his squandering the public money for the gratification of his own personal vanity.

MR. BURGH—John Burgh (afterwards Erugh). Appointed Assistant Surgeon, April 16, 1783 (4) Surgeon, May 19, 1796. Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford, I.M.S., has kindly furnished the following particulars relating to this officer.

In many of the records and Army lists his name is spelt *Brugh*. In a General Order of April 2, 1793 (Proceedings Medical Board, April 8, 1793), Assistant Surgeon John *Burgh* is permitted to resume the original spelling of his name *Brugh*. In *Dodwell & Miles' List of Medical Officers* his name is given as *Bragh*, but this is obviously a misprint.

In 1782 and 1783 there was a serious deficiency in the number of Medical Officers on the Bengal Establishment. In order to remedy this state of affairs, the Bengal Government made a large number of appointments of Assistant Surgeons to the Bengal Medical Service locally, and commissions were given to ships' surgeons, cadets, private individuals, etc.

Constant disputes went on for years between the men appointed locally and those appointed from home, as to their relative seniority. The matter was not finally settled until a despatch from the Court of Directors, dated July 5, 1797 (*Calcutta Gazette* of March 1, 1798), ranked the survivors finally in definite order. In 1795 the Medical Board called upon all the men appointed locally who were still in the Service to report how and why they first came to India, and what medical qualifications they possessed.

In the proceedings of Oct. 9, 1795, the Medical Board give a list of the names of all these officers who were still living, with the dates of their actual first employment. That of John *Brugh* was Dec. 20, 1782.

In the proceedings, Medical Board of Nov. 21, 1795, are a number of answers from Medical Officers to the above questions. *Brugh* (spelt *Brugh*) states that he came out on the *Worcester*, not in a medical capacity, but as a volunteer.

As will be seen from the following extract from a Despatch from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, dated Nov. 16, 1786, it was a very common practice at this period for gentlemen to volunteer as privates for service in India in the hope of getting a commission when a vacancy occurred(5):—

"Besides these, another class of recruits has been sent that have been particularly embarrassing to us, and which could only have happened by the

(4) Vol. I of the lists of *Bengal Medical Officers, Dead and Retired*, at the India Office, gives the date of his rank as Assistant Surgeon as April 1, 1784. The earlier date given here is according to *Dodwell & Miles' List*, which agrees with the Army Lists of the period.

(5) Extract from Madras Military Letter from Fort St. George, dated 6th February, 1789.

Para. 44. "*Ensigns*. 32 appointed from amongst the Conductors of Stores and Volunteers of the King's Regiments until the pleasure of the Court shall be known."

most shameful connivance of some of the people employed in your recruiting service. I mean gentlemen (among whom there are even some half-pay King's officers) who never meant to serve, and indeed, are unfit for the duties of private soldiers, but who procured themselves to be enrolled as recruits, merely to get a passage on board the chartered ships to India. Upon their arrival here, humanity and necessity force us to accept their offer of a man in their place, but which is no addition to our strength, as in most instances he is either a sailor who deserts, or the same man that would have been otherwise obtained, and the gentlemen when discharged are in general without employment, and soon often in great want and distress. Having been informed that this practice has been too frequent for several years past, I have been unwilling to be harsh with the gentlemen of that description who have come out in the ships of last season, but I have to request that in future, no such fallacious enlistments be suffered at home, and also that it may be notified as publickly as possible, that if any such young men do come out, either by passing themselves for persons of the proper class for recruits or by the collusion of others, I am determined that they shall serve the time for which they are engaged, or, if I should be induced to consent to discharge them, it shall be on the express condition of not only finding a man to replace them, but also of giving security that they shall return to Europe at their own expense by the first ships that sail."

After obtaining his discharge in December, 1782, Burgh served in the Second Mysore Campaign in the Carnatic. He was subsequently appointed to do duty at Diamond Harbour, and in 1797 was in charge of the Berhampore hospital. He served in the Second Mahratta War of 1802-4. He was killed at Fatehpur Sikri on Aug. 29, 1804, during Colonel Monson's famous retreat the remnants of the force reaching Agra fort next day, Aug. 30.

DR. WOOD'S SHOP—i.e. Dispensary. Dr. Wood was, in all probability, the well-known Dr. Alexander Wood, F.R.C.S. (1725-1807.) "He practised at Edinburgh where his philanthropy and kindness were proverbial." (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

The present writer is again indebted to Lt.-Colonel Crawford for the following notes.

Up to the third quarter of the 19th century a common way of entering the medical profession was by apprenticeship to a surgeon, physician, or general practitioner. Burgh and Graeme Mercer would be fellow apprentices, and one of their duties would be to compound Dr. Wood's prescriptions in his dispensary or "doctor's shop."

With regard to the use of "doctor's shop" for dispensary, Wilson—*Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 239-262, gives a series of accounts for 1716-17, in which appear several medical items. Among them:—"Repair of doctor's quarters—Rs. 494-0-5. Repair of doctor's shop—Rs. 757-13-9." Also Bengal Consultations, March 26, 1735:—"It being necessary for one of the Doctors to reside at the Hospitall for the Attendance of the Sick—Agreed that we build a couple of Upper Rooms and a Shop for the Medicines at one of the Ends of the Hospitall." Here shop simply means dispensary. There was no intention of selling medicines.

GRAEME MERCER—5th son of William Mercer, senior. (1764-1841.) Graduated at Edinburgh University with the degree of M.D. in 1784, and was appointed an assistant surgeon on the Bengal Establishment on January 18, 1789 : promoted to Surgeon in 1804 and retired on November 30, 1814. Served in the third Mysore War, 1790-91, and the second Maratha War, 1803-04. Resident with Sindhia 1807-10. Died at Mavisbank, Midlothian, October 6, 1841. There is a reference to Graeme Mercer in Thomas Twining's *Travels in India*. Lord Wellesley was making a "progress", through the newly-acquired provinces of Rohilkhand and the Lower Doab in 1801 : and Twining was ordered to join him in camp. He writes (p. 489) :

On leaving his lordship, I went in my palanquin to the headquarters of the Lieutenant-Governor, in a distant part of the camp. On entering a large tent I did not find Mr. Henry Wellesley, as I expected, but saw Mr. Graeme Mercer, assistant surgeon on the Bengal establishment, and several Indians of rank, apparently aumils and landholders of the ceded districts, sitting at a long table. Mr. Mercer sat at the head of the table, already verifying, I thought, the report that, possessing a knowledge of the language of the country, of which Mr. Wellesley was quite ignorant, he would, in his character of surgeon to the Lieutenant-Governor, be really his adviser or leader in the principal acts of his government.

NO. XII.

To Wm. Mercer Esq.

CALCUTTA
10th Decr. 1782.

. I have gott no appointment as yett but believe I shall do very well here. I was a Lieutenant on the Establishment when I arrived here. I might now gett appointed to the Governor's Body Guard but from the state of things in the country, the duration of that Guard is very uncertain. I have therefore declined it, as everybody expects that Mr. Hastings is to be recalled, however I shall manage to gett something or other here that will enable me to live better than at home. There was a Mr. Burgh a son of Burgh of Newhalls came out in the ship with me a private Soldier, he tells me he was in Dr. Wood's shop with Graeme, we have gott him his Discharge and he soon will be appointed a Surgeon on this establishment. If you mean to send Graeme to this establishment, which is certainly the best, gett him appointed a company's Surgeon as soon as possible, as they take rank from the time of their appointment at home, you may do this although you don't intend he should come out for a year or two to come.

(To be continued)

Situation of the Dutch in Bengal.

PART II.—“CRITICAL MONTHS 1756-57.”

But by the year 1757 the Nawab found himself placed in a different situation. The march of Watson and Clive, and the recapture of Calcutta by the English turned the wheel of politics in an adverse direction for him. The power and prestige of the English were restored and it filled the Nawab's mind with alarm. At last, through the intercession of Omichand and Rangeet Roy, the agent of the Seths, a treaty was concluded between the English and the Nawab on the 9th Feb., 1757 (31). The moral effect of the treaty was very great. The English Company forcibly recovered their lost possession in Bengal from the hands of its independent Nawab, and practically compelled him to seek for a treaty the terms of which were greatly favourable for their commercial and political interests. This certainly lowered his position in the eyes of his own people as well as of the foreigners, and encouraged the Dutch to raise their heads for the time being so much as to manifest an open jealousy of his support to the French (32). We can have a clear idea of the attitude of the Dutch, at that time, from the following:—

“ . . . it is more necessary in these countries than elsewhere and especially in those times to uphold the prestige of the Company as much as possible, and also that more is to be got now from the Nawab—he being stricken with great fear of the Europeans by haughty than by a submissive behaviour.”

The Dutch council at Cassimbazar then sent their Director's arzi (petition) to the Nawab through their wakil instead of through the Second of the Council. But this gave a great offence to the Nawab. Just when the arzi had been presented to him, he was highly enraged and gave vent to much abusive language, “asking the Wakil whether the Dutch were playing the fool with him at the same time ordering him to be pinioned and to have him shambocked which, however, upon the advice of Durlabhram and Jagat Seth was not carried out”. But he was locked up in the Munshikhana till the evening when the Nawab sent him a perwana with orders to bring a speedy reply to it from the Chief of the Dutch Council at Cassimbazar. He also sent a gold-stick-bearer to the said Chief in order to let him know that he had torn their Director's Arzi into pieces. Messrs. Jagat Seth and Raja Durlabhram spoke much in

(31) Stewart's History of Bengal, pp. 587-588. For the terms of the treaty, Vide. Ibid, appendix, No. XII.

(32) Letter from M. Vernet to the Dutch Director and Council Hughli, dated Cassimbazar, 28 Feb, 1757, Hill's Bengal in 1756-1757, Vol. II, pp. 257-258.

favour of the Dutch but to no purpose (33). The Nawab's wrath seems to have been, however, pacified within a few days, and we find him again favourably disposed towards the Dutch. The Dutch Director at Hugli sent an advisory letter to Mr. Vernet, Chief of the Dutch Council at Cassimbazar, writing him thereby to take advantage of that favourable disposition of the Nawab to further their own interests (34). He also advised him to draw the Nawab's attention to the inconvenience that they suffered from the bad position of their then residence, and to insist upon a different one pointing it out to him that the French at Chandernagore, then besieged by the English, had sunk some vessels in the river below their fort and had thus blocked the passage from thence to the sea (35).

But the fall of Chandernagore and the march of the English towards Murshidabad greatly puzzled the Nawab and thus it became difficult for the Dutch to put forward their solicitations, which were still in the same stage (36). Various troubles, which had grown up between the Nawab and his cavalry and especially with Mir Jafar and others of his party (37), had made him so gloomy that nobody dared approach him with any prayer (38). The Dutch were only assured by Jagat Seth and Mohanlal that they would try to get hold of a favourable opportunity to have the Nawab's consent to their demands. But day by day matters took a serious turn and the Nawab had to march forward to meet the English army, which made it absolutely impossible for Mohanlal or others to seize an opportune moment to get the Nawab's consent to the prayer of the Dutch (39). The Dutch Director, therefore, advised (40) M. Vernet not to spend any amount for the purpose of "insuring the success of the solicitations" but "to wait a little and see what turns affairs will take".

The relations of the Dutch with the English in Bengal next deserve consideration. By June 1755, when Nawab Siraju-ud-dowlah had stormed the

(33) Letter from Mr. Vernet to the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, dated Cassimbazar. 9 March, 1757, Hill's Bengal 1755-1757, Vol. II, pp. 275-277.

(34) ". To strike the iron while it is hot we hereby commission you either direct or through the intermediary of persons whom you may trust to enter into negotiations with him in order to add stress to the demands made by us, for the furtherance of which you may waive out the spent madrasa (Madras) money to the amount of 40,000 florins, and as for the promise of assistance, we will use our utmost interest with their worships (i.e. the Council General in Batavia) to be enabled to do so, and if we succeed therein, we shall not be disinclined to assist His Excellency against all public enemies of the country, but not against those European nations with which our state is living in peace and amity". Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to M. Vernet, dated 13 March, 1757, Hill's Bengal in 1756-1757, Vol. II, pp. 284-285.

(35) Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to M. Vernet, dated Hugli, 16 March, 1757. Hill's Bengal in 1756-1757, Vol. II, p. 287.

(36) Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to M. Vernet, dated 20th May, 1757. Hill, Vol. II, pp. 390-391.

(37) Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 591.

(38) Letter from M. Vernet and Council, Cassimbazar to Mr. Bisdorn, dated 14 June, 1757. Hill, Vol. II, pp. 410-411.

(39) Letter from M. Vernet to Mr. Bisdorn, dated 15 June, 1757. Hill, Vol. II, p. 413.

(40) Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to M. Vernet, dated 17 June, 1757. Hill, Vol. II, p. 414.

English fort at Cassimbazar, the Dutch were reduced to a very critical situation. It was not certain what attitude the Nawab would take towards the Dutch factory there, and the Chief of that factory, therefore, wrote to the authorities at Chinsura asking for help and provisions (41). But perhaps the fear of a common alliance of the European powers dissuaded the Nawab from treating the Dutch violently. He directed his wholesale attention against the English and proceeded towards Calcutta on the 9th June (42).

Greatly alarmed at this, the English in Calcutta sent piteous appeals to the Dutch at Chinsurah to help them against the Nawab (43), which, as the English argued, the Dutch were enjoined to do by the terms of the treaty subsisting between England and Netherlands. This is well stated in the following letter, written by the President of the Council in Calcutta to the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, on the 7th June, 1756:—“ . . . , we have, therefore, considered it our duty to point out to your Honour and the Council the danger that lies in the allowing such an insult to one of the European nations settled here to pass unheeded, and request for the sake of our King and by virtue of the treaty of alliance existing between us, that should we be attacked you will as far as possible render us every aid and assistance in your power. We flatter ourselves that you will not fail in this, owing to the friendship between your Honour and our nation, it being to our common interest to prevent all such annoyances. We request you to make us acquainted, as soon as possible, with your decisions in this respect, and how many soldiers, or other aid, we may expect, for the calamitous state of affairs here renders assistance imperatively necessary” (44). But, just the next day, the Dutch sent a negative reply (45) to the following effect:—“We have heard with great regret of the Nawab’s intention to attack you, but to assist you as requested in your submissive of yesterday lies beyond our power, as your Honours must fain fairly acknowledge, if you consider the uncertainty as to whether Calcutta alone is the goal, also the bad situation of our fort and the weakness of our force in Bengal, we have to employ native barkandazes in all troubles that arise. As whereas your Honours require the assistance referred to in your aforesaid letter, in the name of His Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and especially by virtue of the treaty existing between the two nations as allies, to render you assistance as far as possible in case of need, we have to reply thereto that, leaving alone that the orders of our superiors charge us to remain

(41) “ We therefore most humbly request your honour to send us as speedily as possible (with 50 military and 2 quarter gunners, and 40 arquebusiers), ten cannons with a sufficiency of balls and grapeshot for the aforesaid pieces, linstocks, rammers with sponge-heads, a few hand grenades and 1,000 lbs. of powder, and also to licence us to advance the point to be able to keep the road past the fort open along that side as we have done with that on the northside, and, if need be to construct a stone battery before the gate.” Translation of a letter from M. Vernet and Council, Cassimbazar, to the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, dated 6th June, 1756, Hill’s Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 10-11.

(42) Orme, Vol. II, pp. 57-58; Stewart’s History of Bengal, p. 568.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Hill’s Bengal, Vol. I, p. 12.

(45) Orme, Vol. II, p. 59; Translation of a letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to Council, Fort William, dated 8th June, 1756. Hill’s Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 14-15.

neutral in all cases that do not concern us, we cannot see that the reasons upon which your Honours rely necessitate that we, who are established here as simple merchants, should on that account be obliged or feel it our duty, to expose ourselves to dangerous troubles from which we are not sure we shall remain exempt, and as little do we gather from the contents of the said treaty (unless there be another apart from the one we mean, and which is not in our possession) that the assistance we are bound to render to each other in virtue thereof (when we do not know whether there is room for meditation or not) can in this case be rendered without exposing ourselves to the displeasure of our masters".

This "cool and indifferent" attitude of the Dutch Council greatly disappointed the English, but they wrote again in the strongest terms, pointing out to the Dutch the dangerous consequences likely to ensue from their "holding aloof, during these mutual negotiations, from the protection of our (the English) goods and possession", and warning them at the same time that they would inform the authorities at home of their conduct if they still resolved to look on as mere spectators of their destruction. This was also combined with a request to enter into a "triple alliance" with them and the French at Chandernagore in order to ensure the preservation and safety of their trade (46). But the Dutch were not convinced at this, and they readily replied that the engagements between the Crown of Great Britain and their country did not "extend to the colonies here in India", and that the circumstances, under which they had been placed, were too perilous to allow them to enter into any hostile relations with the Nawab's Government (47). They also pleaded that their Masters at home had prescribed to them "a strict maintenance of neutrality in all cases that relate in any way to the native Government".

The capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-dowllah left the English quite helpless. Many of them, including Mr. Drake himself, fled away to Fulta, where for want of shelter and provisions, they were subject to as extreme miseries as cruel adversity could ever impose (48). From Fulta the English refugees made a very heartfelt prayer to the Dutch President, for assisting them in their distress,

(46) Letter from the Council Fort William to the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, dated 13 June, 1756, Hill's Bengal, Vol. I, p. 15.

(47) " But that we should expose ourselves to evident peril merely in the hope of saving you therefrom, our Masters, will surely not, any more than the illustrious Parliament of England, expect of us, provided you be pleased to do us the justice (as we hereby request) to add to the representation to be made to the said illustrious body also a picture of the circumstances in which we are placed, viz. surrounded by the Moors in a fort not near so capable of defence, as yours at Cossimbazar used to be. Our force is but very small, and our artillery and ammunition deficient in quality, we having to make shift with Bengal gun-powder. The moneys of our Company are spread all over the Aurunga besides what is deposited at Cossimbazar and Patna and in the mint; all this at the least deviation from neutrality we might look upon as lost and our servants at Cassimbazar and Patna as delivered over to the rage of the Nawab" " Translation of a letter from the Director and Council, Hugli, to Council, Fort William, dated 16 June, 1756, Hill's Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 18-19.

(48) Consultations on the 'Schooner Phoenix,' Fulta 31 August, 1756, vide Long, No. 197, p. 76; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 581.

in the following terms :—“We address this to you from Voltha (Fulta) whither we have been obliged to retire with a few of the inhabitants, who have fled from Calcutta, and being entirely destitute of any kind of provisions and clothing, and of the bare necessities of life as also in great want of anchors and cables, etc. for our ships, we beg to express our heartfelt wish that you may favour us with aid and succour in our distress, and help us from Hoogley with all kinds of liquors and clothing, together with anchors, cables and tackle and also give instructions to your official at Voltha, etc. to assist us as far as lies in their power, we always being ready to reimburse the value of the same. As we hope that your Government may enjoy tranquillity, we flatter ourselves that, viewing the intimate agreement between the two nations, your Honour will not fail to send us information from time to time as to whether there is a possibility of our being able to return in personal safety to Calcutta, as regards which point please put yourself in our position and favour us with the earliest intelligence concerning the purpose of the Nawab and the progress he is making” (49).

For some time the Dutch Council remained inexorable and arrived at the following decision: “It has therefore, for the welfare of the service of the East India Company and for the safety of our people here, been deemed advisable to render the aforesaid fugitives no assistance in the present troublous times and to avoid all correspondence with them, and therefore not to reply to their aforesaid missives” (50). But having afterwards considered that the French were the inveterate enemies of the English, the Dutch thought of rendering some assistance to them. So on the 20th July they came to a *secret resolution* to provide the English with some food and clothes (intending to charge it to the English Company) and also the anchors, 17 in number, which they had taken for their use from Fulta (51). Thus, in spite of the strong orders of Manickchand, the Nawab’s Governor in Calcutta (52), the Dutch at Chinsura helped the English at Fulta with provisions and necessary informations (53).

By sending such private assistance to the English fugitives, the Dutch were, however, guilty of violating the laws of neutrality. Strictly speaking, the principle of neutrality means that the neutral power should not, on any account or in any manner whatsoever, render any assistance to one of the

(49) Letter from Council, Fort William, to Mr. Adrian Bisdom, dated Abroad the Ship ‘Dodalay’, 25 June, 1756. Hill’s Bengal, Vol. I, p. 25.

(50) Consultations of the Dutch Council at Hugli, Monday, 28th June, 1756. Forenoon. Hill, Vol. I, pp. 37-38. All these transactions were regularly reported by the Dutch to their authorities at home, vide letter from the Dutch Council, Hugli, to the Supreme Council, Batavia, dated Fort Gustavas, 5th July 1756. Hill’s Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

(51) Letter from the Dutch Council at Hugli to the Supreme Council at Batavia, dated Fort Gustavas, 24 November, 1756. Hill’s Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 302-308.

(52) Yet Manickchand was at this time in friendly correspondence with the English. He negotiated both between the Nawab and the English understanding well how to run with the hare and keep with the hound.

(53) Consultation on the ‘Schooner Phoenix’, Fulta, August 31, 1756 and September 5, 1756. Long, p. 75, Record No. 197.

belligerents, which may influence the course of the war in favour of one against the other (54). It might be argued that then the English were no longer a fighting party but were mere helpless fugitives at Fulta. But it is to be considered that these helpless fugitives had not absolutely given up the hope of renewing the contest with the Nawab, and had early in July despatched Mr. Manningham in a small vessel to the coast, in the hope of getting further help and reinforcements (55). To help a distressed Christian power was no doubt a humanitarian act, but it is doubtful if the law's of neutrality could permit it on the part of the Dutch, who had already professed themselves to be neutrals, as it indirectly helped the English at Fulta in finding means for regaining their lost position. Moreover, the conduct of the Dutch might be justified as conforming to the practice of the age if there had been any defensive or offensive treaty between the English and the Dutch in Bengal (56), but on a previous occasion the Dutch had themselves declared that the treaty subsisting between the King of Netherlands and the King of Great Britain did not apply to Bengal (57).

The English at Fulta spent their days in utmost distress and misery. But even the darkest day has its end, and nobody can say beforehand what turn the wheel of politics may take. A few days after Manningham's arrival at the coast, the authorities there decided to despatch Watson and Clive to reconquer Bengal. The news of their approach brought a ray of hope to Mr. Drake and his companions, and their advance through the waters of the Ganges gave a new turn to the course of affairs. Mr. Watson (58), who came as the deliverer of the suppliant fugitives of Fulta, assumed a masterly attitude

(54) The writings of Bynkershoek (1737), Wolff (1749), and Vattel were then giving a new colour to the laws of neutrality, and "from the somewhat incoherent practice followed by belligerents and neutrals with respect to each other during the eighteenth century, three principles disengage themselves with clearness". The neutral state was bound not to commit any act favouring one of two belligerents in matters affecting their war, and it was in turn incumbent on belligerents to respect the sovereignty of the neutral. It was also recognised, though less fully, that it is the duty of a state to restrain foreign governments and private persons from using the territory and resources of a country for belligerent purposes". Hall's International Law, p. 588.

Cf. "I call these nonenemies who are of neither party in a war and who owe nothing by treaty to one side or to the other. If they are under any such obligation they are not mere friends but allies. . . . Their duty is to use all care not to meddle in the war. . . . If I am neutral, I cannot advantage one party, lest I injure the other The enemies of our friends may be looked at in two lights, as our friends, or as the enemies of our friends. If they are regarded as our friends, we are right in helping them with our counsel, our resources, our arms, and every thing which is of avail in war. But in so far as they are the enemies of our friends, we are barred from such conduct because by it we should give a preference to one party over the other, inconsistent with that equality in friendship which is above all things to be studied. It is more essential to remain in amity with both than to favour the hostilities of one at the cost of a tacit renunciation of the friendship of the other". Bynkershoek, Hall's International Law, p. 578.

(55) Orme, Vol. II, p. 88; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 582.

(56) Hall's International Law.

(57) Vide ante.

(58) For the letters written at this time by Watson to the Nawab, Vide Edmund Ives' Voyage. Chap. IX.

from the very beginning, and sent the following letter to the Dutch Director, Mr. Bisdom: "With views and designs so every way just and equitable. I fully persuade myself, I have no opposition to apprehend either secret or open from a European nation whatsoever, more, especially from one so long and so closely connected with us in the strictest alliance and friendship. Convinced of this truth, I should have deemed it unnecessary to have acquainted you with my resolution of making war on the Nawab and his subjects, had I not been made acquainted since my arrival here that he has demanded your assistance both of ship and men, to act against the subject of the king my master, my duty to whom obliges me to acquaint you that should you grant him the assistance he demands I shall regard my such act an open declaration of war and act accordingly" (59). The Admiral also demanded of the Dutch Director as many of their (the Dutch) pilots and masters, capable of taking charge of ships, as were not employed or could possibly be spared (60).

In reply to these, the Dutch Director wrote that, with regard to the warning to lend no assistance to the Nawab, he knew his "duty too well to enter into a course of action contrary there to" even if it might expose him to the wrath of the Nawab (61). Regarding the Admiral's demand for pilots, he replied that five of their seven pilots had been so encumbered that neither man nor vessels could pass. Twenty four of their vessels (with packs, bales, anchors, ropes, and provisions) were "under embargo at the Moorish posts of Calcutta, Tanna Makwa, and Besbesja under pretext that the anchors, ropes, and provisions might be destined for the English nation". He, indeed, declared his regard for the British nation, and expressed mortification at their disaster, but at the same time requested the Admiral not to ask him for any assistance, as it might bring upon them (the Dutch) the vengeance of the Nawab (62).

The recovery of Calcutta by the English on the 2nd January, 1757 (63), restored their power and prestige. The Dutch Director then hastened to congratulate Admiral Watson on his success and requested his permission to allow the Dutch "equipment master" (64) Captain Lucas Zuydland, who had carried the letter of congratulation, to bring down some of the Dutch vessels with provisions for their Company's ships (65). On the 6th January Admiral Watson wrote to Mr. Bisdom for 500 heads of cattle (66), which the

(59) Letter from Admiral Watson to Mr. Bisdom, dated H. M. S., 'Kent' at Culpee, 14 December, 1756. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 54-55.

(60) Letter from Admiral Watson to Mr. Bisdom, dated H. M. S., 'Kent' at Culpee, 16 December, 1756. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 56-57.

(61) Letter from Mr. Bisdom to Admiral Watson, dated Hugli, 19 December, 1756. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 72.

(62) Letter from Mr. Bisdom to Admiral Watson, Dated, Hugli, 21 December, 1756. Hill, Vol. II, p. 72.

(63) Orme, Vol. II, pp. 215-211; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 585.

(64) Mr. Hill thinks this to be equivalent to a master attendant, the officer in general charge of the shipping. Hill, Vol. II, p. 78, footnote.

(65) Letter from Mr. Bisdom to Admiral Watson, dated, 2 January, 1757. Hill, Vol. II, p. 78.

(66) Letter from Watson to Bisdom, dated, 6th January, 1757. Hill, Vol. II, p. 87.

latter could not however, supply, as their whole stock has been consumed and as all the inhabitants had fled to the interior on learning that the Nawab was in the field (67). About that time a sloop of one of the English ships lying between Calcutta and Baranagore had removed by force one of the Dutch "quarter masters" from a Dutch brigantine lying before Baranagore with the intention of engaging him as a pilot in the said ship. This was highly resented to by the Dutch Director who wrote to Admiral Watson requesting him to "release the said pressed sailor" for otherwise the Nawab might accuse them of having lent that man to the English with the object of promoting their designs (68).

Mr. Watson had thought that his privileged position would then frighten the Dutch and thus they would help him against the Nawab. So the attitude of Mr. Bisdorn, in not complying with any of his demands, greatly exasperated him, and he at once wrote to him in an imperious tone levelling two charges against the Dutch, viz., (a) the Dutch had given shelter and protection to the persons and effects of some of the Nawab's subjects and (b) they had allowed their guns to be employed against the English at Hugli. He further demanded of Mr. Bisdorn the "immediate delivery of every subject of the Nawab's (who has taken shelter with you) with their effects to Captain Smith of his Britannick Majesty's ship the *Bridgwater*" (69). The Dutch Director, who was taken aback at the Admiral's behaviour, pleaded absolute innocence of his people in the matter and sent the following reply on the 12th January: "It appears to me from your Excellency's missive of yesterday, as if the expression of feelings of gratitude for the services rendered by us to the British nation in the days of distress is to consist only of words and that our fair dealing and uprightness are in danger of being rewarded with the devastation of our colony and an attack upon our fort, as your Excellency attaches credit to accusations not one word of which is true and as to-day, already, a lieutenant with a small armed force has commenced to use force within the precincts of our town to pillage the houses of our old inhabitants, in direct opposition to the tenor of the Manifesto sent by Governor Drake and the Council at Calcutta. We have granted protection to no one save to our own inhabitants, and in regard to the charge concerning the removal of our cannon, it is inconceivable how your Excellency can accept such false reports. Why not rather make enquiries into the matter among the English sojourning here, if a true report about us is what is wanted but if our ruin is what is aimed at we must leave our cause in the hands of God, and, in the measure of our weakness meet force with force, I myself entertaining no doubt but that I shall, by

(67) Letter from Bisdorn to Watson, dated, 7th January, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, p. 88.

(68) Letter from Bisdorn to Admiral Watson, dated, Hugli, 8 January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 98.

(69) Letter from Watson to Bisdorn, dated H. M. S., 'Kent' in the river Hugli, 11 January, 1757. Hill's Bengal Vol. II, p. 99; Letter from Captain Smith and Major Kilpatrick to the Dutch Council, Hugli, dated, 12 January, 1757. Ibid, p. 100.

virtue of my innocence, be able to justify my action both here and in Europe" (70).

Captain Speke also charged the Dutch with a gross violation of neutrality, on the grounds that the Dutch Government had not observed the prohibition with regard to the purchase by its people of "merchandise or any part of the pillage made upon the English at the capture of Calcutta" (71), and that when the English wanted to recover their merchandise, stocked in a private house at Chinsura, the Dutch had so managed that the merchandise had passed on and the English had "to suffer the mortification of seeing bullocks laden with the merchandise issue by night" from that very house. He also complained that, the day after the capture of Hugli, the Dutch had protected at Chinsura some "Moors of the highest rank", and warned Mr. Bisdom seriously that if he did not help the English in their searches for the goods and persons of the Nawab's people, then the English would forcibly assert their rights (72). Mr. Bisdom, however, replied that, what Mr. Speke imputed to "a want of sincerity in the observance of neutrality and the maintenance of the published prohibition" on the part of the Dutch was really due to their powerlessness, as during the siege of Hugli most of their inhabitants and servants had fled from fear, which made it impossible for them to prevent any people from coming in or going out of their place and making any purchases there. As regards the fugitives, whom he was said to have protected, he replied that he had no "Moor of consideration" with him save only Jubbo, the half brother of Wazid, a dweller in that village, a nephew of Mirza Reza, who according to an old custom of his own, sojourned every year at Chinsura on his return from Dacca, and a Persian, who had already lived there since the time of Director Huygens. Lastly, he refused to grant the inventory, of the gods of those inhabitants, at whose house he (*i.e.*, Mr. Bisdom) had placed a guard, on the ground that that would give offence to the Nawab and would be at the same time prejudicial to "the legal privileges of the indweller" (73).

The position of the Dutch became similarly critical during the siege of Hugli by the English. The English soldiers committed various acts of insolence against the inhabitants of Hugli and Chinsura, (74) which com-

(70) Letter from Bisdom to Admiral Watson. dated Hugli, 12 January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 99-100.

(71) During the capture of Calcutta by the Nawab the Dutch Director had, in conformity with the principle of neutrality, published, by beat of drum, an express order to all the people living under his protection, prohibiting them from purchasing any of the "merchandise or any part of the pillage made upon the English". Appendix to letter to the Assembly of seventeen of 2nd January, 1757, dated 22 January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 80-82.

(72) Letter from Captain Speke to Mr. Bisdom, dated H. M. S., 'Bridgewater' at Hugli, 15 January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 106-108.

(73) Letter from Mr. Bisdom to Captain Speke, dated 18th January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 111-112.

(74) Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to Captain Smith and Major Kilpatrick, dated 12 January, 1757. Hills Bengal, Vol. II, p. 101.

Letter from Mr. Bisdom to Captain Speke, dated 18 January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 111-112.

pelled them to leave those places. The Dutch Director requested Captain Smith and Major Kilpatrick "to issue strict orders for its cessation in order to prevent the inconvenience and difficulties" to which they were exposed by the flight of all their inhabitants. But they turned a deaf ear to his request, and the sufferings of the Dutch continued unabated. The Nawab also arrived at Hugli with a large force and the Dutch, not being sure as to what policy he would adopt towards them, sent all the European women to Cassimbazar to remain there till the danger was over (75). Two Dutch Captains ("Captain and lieutenant of the ship 'Naazstigheid' on the point of departure and the commander of 'S Gravesand' ") and a large number of vessels while sailing downwards, were stopped by the English and taken on board one of the men of war. At last, two members of the Dutch Council Armenault and Bacheracht being sent on a deputation to the English, a license was granted for the release of one and all" (76). To add to these, Mr. Watson caused one of the "Company's quartermasters, who had to bring up the brigantine De Ryder from Batavia, to be carried off his ship and compelled to pilot his (Watson's) armada right up to the Moorish fort" at Hugli (77).

But the Dutch had to undergo these hardships and to bear the injustice done to their flag in a patient mood. They were not powerful enough to offer any armed resistance (78) either against the Nawab or the English. On the 15th of January, they only sent the following written protest against the conduct of Mr. Watson :—

"But despite thereof, one of our boatswain's mates of the Company's brigantine De Ryder, just arrived off Beranagor, was carried off by force of the crew of one of the men of war and taken on board, where the man was compelled to bring up your Excellency's warships here alongside the Moorish Fort, without your Excellency's having designed to take the least notice of the Director's protest in his letter of the 8th instant, but you have even connived at, nay, even as we must fain gather from your Excellency's latest missive of the 11th instant, even forsooth directly ordered all the mischievous doings and hostilities committed by the seamen sent the Moors, both in the seizing of loaded vessels from our water frontage and the harrassing of our village with the pillaging of some of the dwellings of our people, your Excellency, to give these hostile acts a quasi colour, giving as a pretext in the

(75) Letter from the Dutch Council at Hugli, to Mr. Vernet at Cassimbazar, dated 13 January, 1757, Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 102.

(76) Letter from the Dutch Council, Hugli, to Admiral Watson, dated 18 January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 112-113. Appendix to letter to the Assembly of seventeen of 2 January, 1757, dated 22nd January, 1757, Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 80-82.

(77) Hill, Vol. II, pp. 80-82.

(78) " for our palisades, that have to serve as a kind of rampart, are as little proof against a cannonade as the canvass of a tent and our entire military force consists of 78 men, about one third of whom are in the hospital, all the seamen being below and the other military on the Patna expedition, whilst all our native servants ran away from fear of the English, so that if matters come to such a pass, we should have to man and aim the guns ourselves, in short, perform and do all the work for which assistance is required". Ibid.

above-mentioned letter that we had concealed goods belonging to the Moors, nay what is more, that we had helped the same Moors with artillery, pretences which will certainly not be credited by anyone in the world, save your Excellency. And even supposing one or other of our Mohametan villagers had tried to find a safe place of deposit for his goods under our flag, would he not be free to do so, or is he actionable on account of his religion. And in addition to the above-mentioned inimical acts an officer with a detachment of Major Kilpatrick's military were posted in our village without our foreknowledge or sanction and committed various acts of violence, thus publicly damaging our credit and infringing upon the rights of our flag. And, whereas all these wrongs, especially the first-mentioned, will apparently be pregnant with injurious and ruinous results to our Company upon the Nabob's arrival, we find ourselves compelled to protest most solemnly and emphatically not only against the aforesaid acts of violence and insolent conduct, but also against those that may be further practised and committed by the men of the expedition under the command of your Excellency and the other officers cited, even as we do hereby protest against all expenses, damage and other evil consequences that might result from the above enterprises or any other than may be further contrived, which we leave to the responsibility of our Excellency, reserving, further, to our Masters, the Netherlands India Company, the right and faculty to take satisfaction for the affront and vexations inflicted on them and their servants, where and whenever it shall seem most fit to them" (79).

The favourable results of the deputation of Messers Armenault and Bacheracht (already referred to) gave temporary satisfaction to the Dutch. Out of eagerness to put an end to the hostile acts between the Nawab and the English, which had been greatly hampering their trade in Bengal, they wrote to Admiral Watson that they had "received intelligence from a good source that the Nawab would fain see the disputes existing between him and the British nation settled" through their intercession, and prayed for his opinion in the matter (80). The Admiral replied that if the Nawab was "disposed to do them justice and make satisfaction for the wrongs which have been done them whenever he thinks proper to apply to me, he will always find me ready to receive any honourable proposals. If otherwise not but he must expect to answer for all the ill, which, by his refusal of justice, is going to fall on the heads of his innocent subjects". He asked the Dutch Director to convey his opinion to those, who had desired him to interfere in the matter (81). But, as no one ventured to lay Admiral Watson's opinion before the Nawab, the proposal ended there (82), though gradually some other factors

(79) Letter from the Dutch Council, Hugli, to Admiral Watson, dated 16 January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 108—110.

(80) Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to Admiral Watson, dated 22nd January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 128.

(81) Letter from Watson to Mr. Bisdorn, dated H. M. S., 'Kent' of Calcutta, 23 January, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 131.

(82) Letter from Mr. Bisdorn to Admiral Watson, dated Hugli, 28 January, 1757, Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 179.

appeared which compelled the Nawab to conclude the treaty of the 9th February, 1757.

The Dutch were faced with another critical situation, when the English laid siege to the French fort at Chandernagore. They were quite in the dark regarding the views of the Nawab at that time as well as the future military plans of the English. So, on the one hand, they tried to propitiate the Nawab through Rajbullabh, to whom they sent hearty congratulations on his being honoured by the Nawab with a dress of honour, a planquin ornamented with gold and a 'naubat' (83) and, on the other, they tried their utmost to satisfy the English (84). After the English had captured the fort at Chandernagore, many of the French went and took up their quarters at Chinsura and Hugli, where their women and children were already. But, on the 13th of April, 1757, Colonel Clive demanded the delivery of all Frenchmen residing at Chinsura (85), and so the Dutch Director was compelled to ask the French to quit their territory, which they subsequently did by repairing to Calcutta and later to Chandernagore and Serampur (86). The Dutch now remained absolutely neutral. Those at Cassimbazar refused the request of the English factory there for a small barrel of powder and twelve firelocks and also payed no heed to the urgent solicitations of Jagat Seth for the storage of some goods of the French that they had taken in pawn for debt, under the pretext that there was no room in their factory (87). Apprehending a furious renewal of the contest between the French and the English (88), the Dutch, as a sort of defensive measure, begged the permission of their authorities at home for erecting a fortification round the factory and requested them for a supply of 24 pounders or at least 18 (89).

The political affairs of Bengal had gradually taken such a turn as left no hopes of compromise between the Nawab and the English (90). The bitterness of their relations went on increasing day by day, with alarming rapidity, till the question was finally decided on the 23rd June, 1757. There

(83) Letter from Mr. Vernet and Council at Cassimbazar to the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, dated 23 March, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 289.

(84) Letter from Mr. Ross to M. Vernet, dated Hugli, 23 March, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 290-291. (Johanes Mathias Ross Second Book-Keeper in the mint at Chinsura).

(85) Letter from Colonel Clive to Adrian Bisdom, Esq., Governor of Chinsura, dated Camp, 13 April 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 326.

(86) Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to the Governor General and Council at Batavia, dated 20 April, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 347.

(87) Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to Mr. Vernet, dated 9 April, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 320.

(88) " Our Fort is a nest that would not be able to withstand the onslaught of the enemy for as many hours as the French have days, and now the English have destroyed the imaginary neutrality within the Ganges, the stronger party will in the future, no doubt, always assail and ruin the weaker, unless the parties at variance can find a means to reconcile their clashing interests. "

Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli, to the Assembly of seventeen, dated 2 April, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 314-315.

(89) Letter from the Dutch Director and Council, Hugli to the Governor General and Council at Batavia, dated 20 April, 1757. Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 347.

(90) For details, Vide, Orme, Vol. II, pp. 148-175.

is no record which throws any light on the conduct or attitude of the Dutch just at that critical moment. There is only one letter from the Dutch Director Mr. Bisdorn to Robert Clive wherein the Director congratulates Clive on his success (91). They had not, however, actively intervened in the struggle and were most probably busy with measures of 'self-defence.

Their policy in the past, as will be clear from the foregoing facts, had been that if a peaceful trading Company (92) and they were always earnest in asserting their own rights and privileges (93). It must be admitted that save on one occasion (i.e., when they helped the English fugitives at Fulda), they never departed from the path of neutrality, in spite of the threatenings or solicitations of the Nawab as well as the English. This neutrality was, no doubt, a necessary condition of their existence in Bengal. They had realized from the very beginning that they would risk their interests in Bengal by joining one party against the other. But this had cost them much: they had to pay enormous sums to the Nawab, and the English had placed guards (94) at Hugli and Chinsura and had directed many acts of reprisals against them. But what could they do but to "husband resentment—the only resource of a (weak) injured nation".

KALI KINKAR DATTA.

(91) "To Mr. Robert Clive.

"Sir,—as you have had the principal charge of the enterprise against the late Nabob Suraj-u-Dowlah, we cannot refrain from congratulating you upon your success. Wishing that the arms of His Brittanic Majesty may everywhere prosper and be triumphant, and that your fame, Sir, may become more and more renowned, we have the honour to be with much consideration, etc., etc.

"Chinsura, 30th June 1757"

Malcolm, *Life of Clive*, Vol. II, 70, footnote.

(92) Vide ante. Letter from the Dutch Council, Hugli, to the Supreme Council, Batavia, dated Fort Gustavas, 5 July, 1756. Hill's *Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 53--56.

Letter from the Dutch Director and Council of Bengal to the Assembly of Seventeen in Holland, dated Hugli, 2 January, 1757. Hill's *Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 78-80.

(93) Letter from Mr. Vernet to Mr. Bisdorn, dated 29 June, 1757, Hill's *Bengal* Vol. II, p. 433.

Some Interesting Documents.

IN October, 1930, while I was examining some of the records preserved in the Home Department, Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, I came across a number of interesting documents which add to our information about the relations of the Bengal Government in the second half of the eighteenth century with Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. I read a paper on the subject, at the thirteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, which has been published since in Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. XLI. Part II—Serial No. 82 and in the Proceedings of the Commission. The records in question were, most of them, only summarised in that paper but I believe they might prove to be of some interest and importance to students of history. I propose therefore to publish the text of some of those documents here.

I.

The Kinlock expedition against the Gurkhas left a legacy of uncertainty in the relations between Bengal and Nepal. Moreover it completed the interruption of commerce through Nepal already begun by the Gurkha conquest. The Home Dept. Public Body Sheets of 31st October, 1769, inform us that it was considered that Surgeon Jas. Logan was the most proper person to undertake a mission to Nepal for the purpose of opening a trade through that country with Tibet and West China, which was much desired by the Company. It was consequently agreed that "he be permitted to undertake it as he proposed," and that instructions for his guidance were to be laid before the Board. The instructions have not come down to us but the text of Logan's proposals has been preserved as Home Dept. O.C. No. 1 of 31st October, 1769. A copy of this letter from Logan to Verelst occurs also in the India Office Copy of Public Consultations, 1768-1769 (pp. 165-172) with slight textual changes which apparently were followed in the printed abstract now attached to the original document. Logan himself tells us that he had assisted Kinlock's expedition and had acquired a knowledge of the neighbouring kingdoms. His letter is interesting on account of political and commercial details. We learn from the General Letter to the Court of 25th January, 1770, in reply to instructions dated 16th March, 1768 that Surgeon Logan had already been sent to Nepal. There we lose sight of him unless Bogle's observation (p. 158 of Markham's Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle, second edition) that the Gurkha Raj informed the Tashai Lama that

a Firingi was being sent back from Nepal had any connection with him. Logan's letter is printed below :—

“To The Honorable Harry Verelst Esqr.

Governor, and President of the Council of Fort William.

Sir

Having learnt that the Hon'ble Company have recommended a trial to Open a Trade between these Provinces, Tibett, and the Western Provinces of China by the way of Neypall, And considering the little knowledge Europeans have yet acquired of these Countries, And the Commerce of which they are capable, I am led to believe that in order to obtain a knowledge so necessary to the Prosecution of this scheme, there is wanted a person, on whose integrity some Dependence may be placed, who shall, endow'd with proper authorities on the part of the Company, go and inform himself in the Countries themselves of the Commerce of which they are capable with Hindostan, Of the means by which such Commerce if Practicable, may be established, And transmit a faithful account of his Discoverys.

Shou'd a further intelligence on this subject be thought necessary than what you are already possess of, I have reasons to think that, notwithstanding the Commotions in these parts and the part the Company have already taken in them, such intelligence is still attainable.

I have had some opportunity which I hope I have not altogether neglected, of coming to a knowledge of several particulars of these Countries not commonly known, And shou'd you approve the design, and think me worthy to be trusted on such an occasion, I am ready to undertake a Journey into them on the errand I here propose. The merchants of Patna can vouch that in times of peace a very considerable trade used to be carried on between their City and Neypall, and with Tibett, by the way of Neypall. The chief Exports of Patna in this trade were coarse woolen cloaths called Parpeteens, Coral, Salt, Betelnut, Cotton Cloaths, Patna Chintzes, Nutmegs etc. The Imports Gold Ingots, Gold Dust, Borax, musk, Cow Tails, Chirris etc. The common current value of gold in Neypall (and it is chiefly brought there from Tibett) is said to be 50 per cent less than it is at Patna. It does not appear that there subsisted any Commercial treatys between the Soubahs of Bahar and the Rajas of these Countries for the Protection of this Trade. It is therefore probable that, under proper regulations, and a sure Protection, it is capable of being much more considerable than ever it was. When the communication is opened it is not above eight or nine days Journey from Patna to Cutmundoo, the Chief city of Neypall, and the road at the most rugged place is such as loaded Bullocks etc. may and do travel. The

Gundak is Navigable for the largest boats used on the Ganges, at all times, to within two days Journey of Neypall, and in the Rains to within a few Coss. The Bagmatty is also Navigable to within 20 Coss. But whether the roads from the plain of Neypall to the places of these Rivers to which they are Navigable, be such as will admit of goods being transported directly from the one to the others I have not learn't.

It is well-known to you that Neypall has been the object of a war these many years between Perty Narainsey the Raja of Goorka on one part, and the three Rajas of the three principal Citys of Neypall on the other. The Goorka has prevailed and two of the Confederates, it is said, have lately surrendered upon terms to the Conqueror. The other, Juyper Cussmull, who was the head of the Confederacy having lost Cutmundoo his Capital, is now either Coop'd up in a stronghold, or has retired into Tibett, where he has some Territory and a friend and Protector in the Goora, or white, Lama, the Pontiff of Laissah. To answer the Intent of my Journey it will be necessary for me to apply myself with such Credentials etc. as shall be given me, to one or other of these Interests as you shall please to Determine. Shou'd it be to that of Juyper Cuss, who is the Hereditary Prince of the greater part of Neypall, And who, already Depending on the succour of the English, has lost almost his all, And Shut every door of accomodation with the Conqueror against himself, I will undertake to find him out, wherever he is, And personally Confer with him.—There is no doubt but many of his old Subjects are still attached to him. A small Force, with what Efforts he may still be able to make himself, would be Sufficient to reestablish his Government.

But in determining to which of the Contending Interests this business is to be addressed, there are some considerations which may require Your particular attention. Whether after the part that has been already taken in Juyper Cuss's behalf, to abandon him and treat with the other, may not by giving a bad Impression of the English in these parts, tend to hinder the advancement of their Interests there, whereas in continuing to support that Raja this will be avoided, and on his being restored to his Country the Company's future trade may be established on a more advantageous footing than the Conqueror, in the present fullness of his Power, Perhaps will agree to, for it is certainly to be apprehended, that he never will accede to any terms which are worthy the Hon'ble Company's acceptance, till he is forced to it, And even if he did the trade wou'd not be secure till his Power shou'd be reduced, And this surely may be Effected more easily *now* in Concert with Juyper Cuss and his Connections, than it can be afterwards without them. Another Consideration Is, that the Raja Juyper Cuss being in friendship with the Lama, the trade may by his means be extended into Tibett more

advantageously than perhaps it cou'd be shou'd the Company be connected with the Goorka Raja, who is at Open variance with the Lama whom he has provoked beyond all hopes of reconciliation, by Plundering the Rich Temples of his votaries in Neypall.

I am aware of the difficultys I shou'd have to encounter in exploring my way to Juyper Cuss thro' such an extent of so rugged a Country, the greater part of which is possessed by an Enemy, but I know it has been done before, under the same unfavourable circumstances, And therefore, I presume, may be done again. The Choudind Raja, Coran Sine, whose Hills lie to the Eastward of Neypall, is a staunch enemy of the Goorka, who traitorously Dispossed his first Cousin, the muckwany Raja, of his Country, and has kept that Raja, if he is still living, a close Prisoner these eight years. Coran Sine formerly proposed to Captain Kinlock to join his Force, which is Considerable, with our Detachment to act against the Common enemy and he invited me up to his Capital in the Hills to Settle the terms of this Coalition. At this place, provided my business is unfavourable to the Goorka, I'm pretty sure of a hearty welcome, and here I wou'd get intelligence Guides etc. in order to prosecute my Journey.

But if it is determined that Juyper Cuss and his Interests are not at all to be considered in this business, I wou'd propose to apply myself immediately to Perty Narane, if he will receive me, with such Credentials as shall be given me, And such proposals as you shall Authorize me to make, And during my Residence with him, endeavor to gain such Information as may answer the purpose of my Journey.

I am Sir
with profound respect
your Most Obdt.
Humble Servant
JAS. LOGAN"

Calcutta

Augt ye 25th 1769.

Logan's letter supplies us with some details of the Gurkha conquest and its effect on neighbouring states. His suggestion was to make another effort to nip the Gurkha power in the bud. The Choudind Raja mentioned by him bears the same name (Home Dept. O.C. 2 (a) of 8th June, 1772) as the Raja of Morung which country extended from the Kusi to the Tista according to Markham's Bogle (p. 150). His cousin's principality of Muckwanpur played an important part in the frontier struggles of this period.

II.

The next group of documents throws light not only on the disturbed nature of the relations between the Bengal Government and Nepal after the Kinlock expedition (to which colour is lent by Logan's proposals quoted above)

but offers also an interesting study in the methods of government in those days. Moreover Raja Sitab Ray's report has importance with regard to the history of Tirhut for over a pretty long period. The records cover pp. 119-123 and 147-153 of the copy obtained from India Office of Public Consultations in 1771.

Proceedings of 9th July, 1771.

“Received the following Letter and Enclosures from the Council of Revenue at Patna.

To the Hon'ble John Cartier
President & Governor etc.
Council of
Fort William.

Honble Sir & Sirs,

Enclosed we have the Honor to transmit to you extracts of a Letter we have received from Mr. Keighly dated the 21st May—our answer dated the 25th and his reply dated 26th May. Also an extract of a Letter from Mr. Golding dated 15th June.—The Tauter Pergunnahs belonging properly to Sircar Tirut, but were long in the Possession of the Muckwam Rajah and were taken from him a few years ago by the Goorka Rajah at the same time that he dispossessed him of all the rest of the Country.—It is certain that the Goorka Rajah has rendered himself very powerful and Raja Setabroy thinks it probable that he may make some attempts upon our Territories and prove a very Troublesome neighbour 2 or 3 years hence. How far this consideration or the further reasons alledged by Mr. Keighley may render it advisable to anticipate the Troubles apprehended from him we leave to the judgment of you Gentlemen.

We could easily take possession either of Tauter or Terranie, but we believe it would occasion an immediate Rupture with the Goorka Rajah, and it would then be necessary either to march a considerable Force into the Hills and attack him in his own Country or else to station about two Battalions of Sepoys along the Borders of Betteah and Tirhoot in order to cover our Territories from the Incursions of his people.

We are etc.
Honble Sir & Sirs
yr most obedient
humble servants
Joseph Jekyll
George Vansittart
Robert Palk'

Patna
25th June 1771.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Keighly dated 21st May 1771.

'The second matter that I spoke of that night require your consideration is the possessing ourselves of the Tatur Purgunnahs.—The Reasons which I shall offer on this subject will I flatter myself meet with your approbation.

They are properly belonging to Sircar Tirut, and an acknowledgment paid by the 'Nepaul Rajah for the Tenure but when it is considered that he pays this Peshkash (?) just as he pleases and the smallness of the Sum being only 12,500 Rupees for a Country that might in a year or two produce a much more considerable sum to our Employers and when a still more weighty argument is put in the scale that in the dearth last year, when people on our lands were dying out of Number the Tatur Pergunnahs were well supplied with grain and no want therein.—The poor Ryotts therefore who were starving in one part of Sircar Tirhoot went there and are now prevented from returning.

Again, it belongs to the Subah, it is enclosed in H. M.'s grant to the Co. You will therefore be possessing yourselves of this Country—extend yr. govt. to its lawful boundaries, and people one of largest Sircars in Souba Bahar, and which if weeded of some few thieves, who have accumulated large fortunes at the Ruin of the Country: I will be answerable to you Gentlemen will render a good Revenue to our Employers. Some little time must be given for the Ryotts to recover themselves from the Alarm occasioned by the last years Collections.—

Agreed that the following letter be written to the Council of Revenue at Patna.—

'Gentlemen

We have received your letter of the 25th ult.

As we shall never admit of alienations from our own Territories and would carefully avoid any encroachments of our neighbours, we could wish to have the pretensions of the Goorkally Rajah to the Tauter Pergunnahs fully explained before we come to a final determination and to this End we desire you will send us full and explicit answers to the following questions.

From what time have the Tauter Pergunnahs been alienated from the Province of Tirhoot and by what means? And whether the Muckwanee Rajah has ever been considered as a Zemindar of the Province of Bahar independant of his possessing the above pergunnahs.

After the Goorkally Rajah had possessed himself of the Muckwaunee Country with whom was the Pishkash (?) for the possession of the Tauter Pergunnahs settled? And what was the nature and Tenor of such agreement?

What was the established Revenue which those Pergunnahs when heretofore rated at?

When your particular answers to these several questions are received we shall send you our final instructions on this subject.

Fort Wm.
9th July 1771..

We are etc.' "

The story is resumed in the Proceedings dated the 10th August, 1771.

"At a Consultation present
The Honble John Cartier Esqr. Prest.
Samuel Middleton William Aldersey Charles Floyer John Reed
Esquires.

Messrs. Russell & Kelsal indisposed.
The Book of standing Orders upon the Table.
The Consultations of the 6th instant Read and Approved.
Read the following Letter from Patna together with Rajah

Sitabroy's account of the Tauter Pergunnah enclosed therein.

'To The Honble John Cartier Esqr.
President & Govr. & Council of
Fort William.

I.L.K. No. 178.
Pat. Rev. Con.
Honble Sir & Sirs,

We have been favoured with your Commands of the ninth instant and herewith enclose a particular account which we have received from Rajah Sitabray of the Tauter Pergunnahs from the year 953 Fusilly (or A.D. 1556) being the commencement of the reign of Ackber Shaw to this present time. This is the earliest account we can procure of them.

The Muccwany people took possession of these Pergunnahs above two hundred years ago they usurped them in consequence of the weakness of the Government of Tirhut.

The Muccwouny Rajah has never been considered as a Zemindar of the Bahar Province independent of the Tauter Pergunnahs. The Peiskash or tribute of these Pergunnahs has been demanded from the Gurcally Rajah since his possessing himself of the Muccwouny country and he has delivered Elephants in payment from time to time but a written agreement has never been taken from him.

The Tribute you will observe was valued in Allumgeer's time at 1200 Ruppes it was afterwards raised to ten thousand and afterwards to 12,500 which is the present valuation but has always been paid in Elephants not in money. Peertanarayan the Goorka Rajah has this year sent 5 small Elephants on account of this and the last years Tribute amounting according to the existing valuation to about

Rupees 15000 and we have no reason to complain of his having committed any Acts of Hostilities as yet whatever may be apprehended from him hereafter.

We beg leave to submit it to your Consideration whether it is proper that Patna should be considered as an open or a Fortified Town if the latter it would be necessary that Measures should be taken to put it in a state of defence as soon as the rains are over it being at present in a very ruinous condition.

We are etc.

Joseph Jekyll

George Vansittart

Robt. Palk.'

Patna

30th July 1771.

'Rajah Sitabroy's Account of the Pergunnah Tauter belonging to Sircar Tirhut in the Bahar Province.

Situation. Bounded on the West by Pergunnah Maisey a District of Sircar Champarun on the East by Sircar Purnea in the Bengal Province on the South by the River Gunduck and on the North by the skirts of the Napall Hills called Teriana.

Revolutions. After the death of Raja Sher Sing and his heirs in the beginning of the reign of Akbar Shah in the year 953 Fusilly Rajah Nersing Ram took possession of the Zemindary of Sircar Tirhut and after his death his heirs possessed it for some time. During their imprudent and mismanaged Government Beernagur & Purgunnahs adjoining to Purneah were annexed to the Bengal Province and the Mucwanpore people possessed themselves of Tahter & twentythree Mahals or small Districts together with Januckpore situated below the hills and the Zemindars of Sircar Tirhut were unable to call them to account.

After them Mahas Tagoor, Loobalker Tagoor Mynaut Tagoor and Sindu Tagoor and Nerput Tagoor successively from Father to Son possessed the Zemindary of Sircar Tirhut. The above mentioned Mynaut Tagoor Together with Isfand Yar Cawn who was Foujedar of Sircar Tirhut on the part of the king having represented these circumstances to Nabob Fidaey Cawn Subadar of Patna in the reign of Shah Alumgeer and having obtained a force and armed the Zemindars under his Subjection concealing his hostile Intentions under pretence of a hunting party he surprised the Rajah of Muckwanpore unawares in the Tahter Pergunnah surrounded and took him prisoner. He carried him to Durgunga (Darbhanga?) the residence of the Foujedar who not being willing to put him to death made him a Mussulman and obliged him (as it is said) to give an acknowledgment in writing that he would pay 1200 rupees as a yearly Nuzzerund (or present) which was to be paid in Elephants. He then set him at liberty and having reconciled him to Rajah Mynaut Tagoor dismissed him. He paid the Nuzzeruna for some time till in the year 1085 Fussily when Haja Mahomed Syed Cawn was Dewan or deputy of the king it was discontinued.

This happened ninetythree years ago but afterwards the Nabobs Fidaey Cawn Myr Joomly Seubalou Cawn Cawn Summa Akidut Cawn and Muramut Cawn Nazims of the Province increased it yearly by force till it amounted to 10000 Rs. in Elephants. At the time that Fughur-ul-dowla was Subadar (or Governor of the Province) in the year 1133 Fussilly Raja Ragoo Sing, Son of Nerput Tagoor, Zemindar of Sircar Tirhut went against Balamund Puddea Naib (or Deputy) of Mannick Sein Raja of Teriana with a great Force and fought him. Balamund fled and Delput Sein brother of Mannick Sein came into Raja Rago Sing and Settled Terms with him agreeing to pay two thousand five hundred Rupees encrease upon the Nuzzerana to be paid also in Elephants from that time till the year 1160 the 12500 Rupees was paid at the rate of 1000 Rupees Cubit for Males and 700 Rupees for Females.

In 1169 the Gorkally Inhabitants of the Mountains of Gurka descended with a strong army Fell (?) Bickeram Sein the Grandson of Manick Sein Prisoner and seized upon the Pergunnah Muckwanpore of which Kunnuck Sing complained to the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn in the year 1170. In consequence of this Complaint the Nabob himself crossed over sending Gourgeen Cawn before him who arrived near Muckwanpore where his whole army being destroyed the Nabob returned to Patna from this time to the year 1174 Aumil or Collector resided there on the part of the Government. In 1175 Perty Narayan the Gulkally Rajah sent his people and took possession of it but did not pay the tribute as usual in the interim. Captain Kinlock was sent there with a detachment of Seapoys and drove out the Gorkalees and Collectors were placed there on the part of Mr. Golding and upon Captain Kinlock's return the Pergunnahs were again taken possession of by the Gorkally Rajah he last year agreed with Rajah Pertaubsing to pay the tribute of 12,500 Rupees in Elephants at the customary rate and this year five Elephants have been actually received from him.

List of Mahals in Pergunnah Tauter—

Tauter	...	...	1
Nundrakajoutly	...	...	1
Assiboo	...	...	1
Abijout	...	...	1
Beya	...	...	1
Muckwanpore Navabad	...	...	1
Bickerma	...	...	1
Beera	...	...	1
Mandu	...	...	1
Jumna	...	...	1
Rassary	...	...	6
Shapore	...	...	1
Carady	...	...	1
Bunnrin Mulky	...	...	1
Sery	...	...	4

Total Mahals or small Districts—23'

The Board are of opinion that the Inconveniences & Expense which must attend an Expedition against the Goorka Rajah would far outweigh the advantages to be reaped from the recovery of these Pergunnahs and therefore disapprove of proceeding to Hostile Measures unless the Rajah should refuse to pay the tribute or attempt to commit depredations on the Bahar Districts. From the Rajahs known activity & the situation of his Country, in an Expedition against him it is to be expected he would give us much trouble before subdued and by frequent incursions disturb the tranquility of the Bahar Province and materially prejudice the Collections.

Even supposing the possession of these Pergunnahs resumed there would be a necessity according to the Revenue Council Accounts for posting not less than two Battalions of Sepoys for their protection An encrease of our Military Pergannah Establishment that must occasion a heavier Expense than the repossession of those Lands would by any Means indemnify. It is therefore Resolved that no Expedition shall be undertaken against the Gourka Rajah.

The Board do not mean by thus letting it lay dormant to give up their demand entirely but would have our claim kept up to the annual tribute paid for these Pergunnahs and should the Rajah commit any hostilities it will be a proper opportunity to advance our pretensions and reunite these Pergunnahs to the province of Tirhut to which they originally belonged.

Agreed in Consequence that the following Letter be writter to the Revenue Council at Patna.

To Joseph Jekyll Esqre
Chief & Council of Revenue
Patna.

Gentlemen

We have received your Letter of the 30th Ultimo containing an Answer to our Enquiries concerning the Tauter Pergunnahs.

As the Inconveniences attending on an Expedition against the Gurka Rajah for the recovery of those Pergunnahs would be in our opinion superior to the advantage we should reap from it, We have determined not to proceed to violent measures with the Rajah so long as he shall leave the Bahar Districts undisturbed And shall pay the annual Tribute for those Pergunnahs as an acknowledgment of their dependancy on the Zemindary of Trihoote.

We however desire that you will endeavour fully to inform yourselves of the Revenue which those Purgunnahs would yield were they reannexed to the Tirhut Province And that you will not be neglectful of keeping up our claim to the annual Tribute hitherto paid by the possessors of them.

We are etc. ' "

Fort William
10th August 1771.

The eight documents printed above deal with two points—the history of Tirhut from the time of Akbar to that of the English occupation and deliberations, in the middle of the year 1771, on the policy to be adopted towards the Gurkhas. In Raja Sitab Rai's report, the river Gandak mentioned appears to be the Buri Gandak. The names of nine Hindu Rajas of Tirhut occur in the account, six of whom ruled successively from father to son. There are also several names of Imperial officers in the province of Behar—Subadars, Dewans and Nazims from the time of Aurangzeb onwards with occasional dates. The chequered history of relations between the frontier principality of Muckwanpur and the Zemindari of Tirhut is described in detail. The bone of contention was the Tatar Parganas (round about Janakpur) which were seized by Muckwanpur about two centuries before the date of the report. From the time of Aurangzeb a tribute was exacted for this occupation which by successive increases was raised to 12,500 rupees and was paid in elephants. The Gurkha conquerors overthrew the Muckwanpur family whose appeal brought forth the futile expedition of Mir Kasim. After the withdrawal of Kinlock, the Gurkhas remained in possession of both Muckwanpur and the Tatar Parganas and paid the customary tribute for the second. The later history of the Parganas is mentioned in O'Malley's *History of Bengal, Behar and Orissa under British Rule* (p. 639).

Many reasons are advanced by local officials for the desirability of the annexation of the Tatar Parganas—for example the ancient rights of Tirhut, the wealth of the district, the low and irregular tribute, the wisdom of weakening the Gurkhas in anticipation of future troubles. These reasons were however outweighed by the certainty of increased military expenditure and the difficulty of subduing the Gurkhas. The claims over the disputed district were, it was resolved, to be kept in reserve for any suitable occasion.

III.

Commercial relations between Bhutan and Bengal offer an interesting study in this period. The Treaty of April 25, 1774, at the end of the Cooch-Bihar campaign, promised to allow Bhutea caravans to visit Rangpur annually free from any duties (Markham's *Bogle*, p. 4). Bogle concluded a Treaty with the Debraja of Bhutan in May, 1775, (Home Dept. O.C. No. 4 of 19th April, 1779), which, in return for the free passage through Bhutan of non-European merchants of Bengal, promised freedom of access to Bhuteas and their gomastas' to all places in Bengal; the privilege of selling horses duty free for Bhuteas and the abolition of the duty on the Bhutea caravan in Rangpur; and the reservation exclusively for the Bhuteas of the trade in indigo, tobacco, redskin and betel nut. On the death of the Debraja who concluded this treaty, political as well as secular power in Bhutan was concentrated in the hands of Lam' Rimbochay, the scion of one of the three Lama houses (Home Dept. O.C. Nos. 1 and 2 of 19th April 1779). In 1778, this ruler sent his wakil, Narpoo Paigah, to Calcutta where he delivered under his seal a declaration ratifying an agreement for a trade passage across Bhutan. The originals of this declaration have been preserved in Home Dept. O.C. No. 6 of 19th April, 1779. One of these is in

Bengali and confirms the articles of Bogle's treaty in a different order. It runs as follows :—

পূর্বের বাঙ্গালাতে ও লাশার মলুক বহুত তেজারত হইত হিন্দু মোশলমান লোক তেজারত কর্তে জাইত আশীও তেজারত করিত কথ দিন হইল লাড়াই তিড়াই (৭) কারণ মহাজন লোক জাতায়তে মস্কাল হইয়াছে শ্রীশ্রীদেবধর্ম্যলামাঃ রিম্পেছে সহিত শ্রীযুক্ত কম্পনি সঙ্গে মোনের সহিত দোস্তা হইয়াছে সে মতে দোতরফা লিখাপড়া হইয়াছে যে দেবরাজ হিন্দু মোশলমান লোক আশীতে জাইতে তেজারতা করিতে কোন আটক করিবেক না তাহারা চন্দন নিল গুগুল সাবর পান সুপারি নিতে পারিবেক না এঙ্গরাজ ফেরঙ্গী মহাজনলোক উপরে জাইতে না পারে বাঙ্গালাতে ভোটাস্তের যে লোক ঘোড়া ও গয়রহ আনিয়া খরিদ ফরজ (৭) করিবেক তাহার হাশল (৭) মাষল দোতরফা নাই। এদফাতে আর্মই করার লিখিয়া দিতেছি। এতকিত আমলে আশীবেক কোনমতে তফাওত হবেক না। ইতি শন ২৬৯ দুইশও উনশতরি মোতাবেক শন ১১৮৫ পচাশী বাঙ্গালা তারিখ ৯ নও পৌষ মো কৈলকান্ত

The following is a translation of the above, adapted from the English version attached to the document.

Formerly there were extensive commercial transactions between Bengal and the region of Lhasa. Hindus and Mussalmans came and went for purposes of trade and carried on their business. Since some time however, there have been difficulties in the passage of merchants to and fro on account of wars and disturbances. A hearty friendship has been now established between Sri Sri Devadharma Lama Rimpashay and the Honourable Company and it has been written and agreed to on both sides that the Debraja shall not, in any way, hinder the passage and the trade of Hindus and Mussalmans. These however shall not be allowed to carry sandalwood, indigo, 'gocgul', softened skins, betel leaves and betel nut. No English or Firingi merchants shall be permitted to go up to the hills. Those people of Bhutan who go to sell horses and other articles in Bengal shall be subject to no duties. On this side I myself give this agreement in writing. In this manner it will be put into effect and there will not be any departure from it.

Dated in the year 269 (two hundred and sixty-nine) answering to the Bengali year 1185, on the 9th Paush at Calcutta.

This record(1) is dated in an era which started about 1509 A.D. Several curious words occur in the text and have been marked with an interrogation sign. The rare word সাবর means softened skins according to the Bangla Sabda Kosh (p. 915) of Mr. Jogesh Chandra Ray. The script is a beautiful piece of Bengali writing preserved for 150 years.

IV.

The last of the documents of this series which may be said to deserve notice is numbered as Home Dept. O. C. 27 of 22nd December, 1788 and refers to an embassy to Bengal from the Dalai Lama seeking help against Gurkha attack. The full text has been published and commented upon in my paper mentioned at the outset.

S. C. SARKAR.

(1) This document was printed in the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Frederick Christian Lewis.

A VICTORIAN ARTIST IN THE EAST.

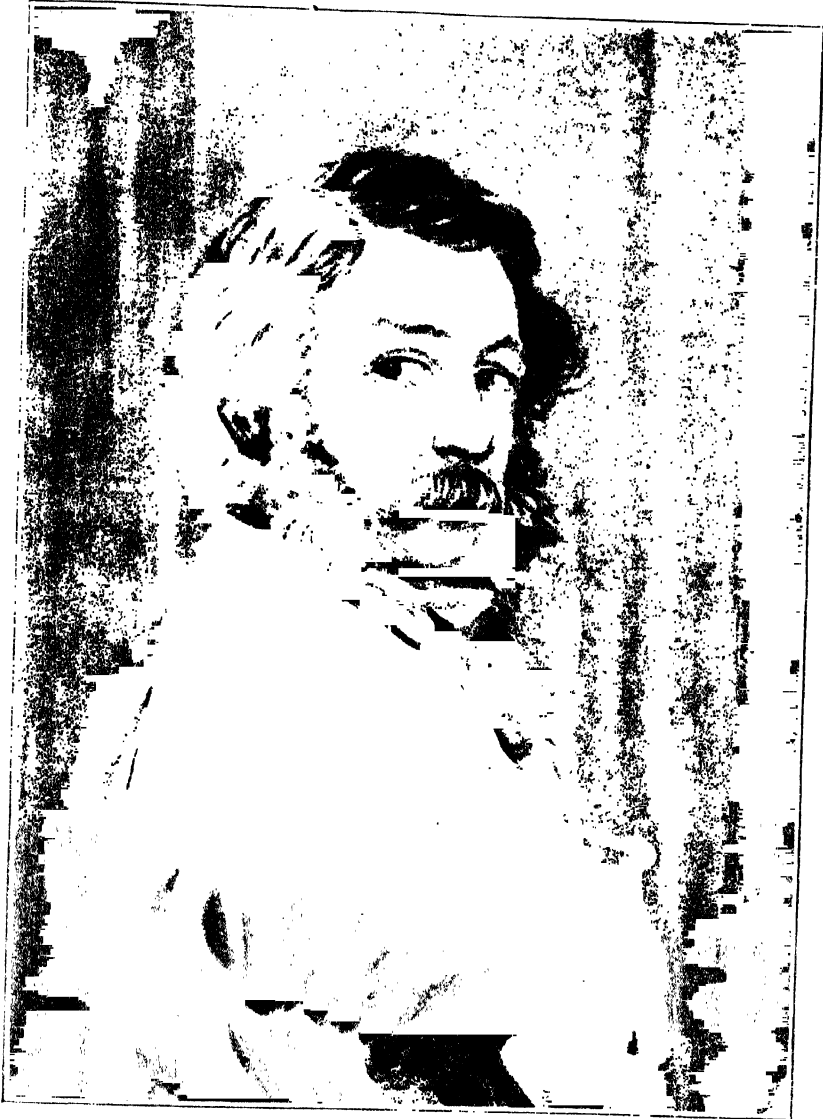
[This biography is largely based upon material supplied by Mrs. Ellen Musson, the only surviving daughter of Mr. Lewis].

FOLEY STREET will be looked for in vain on the modern map of London. It formed the eastern portion of what is now known as Queen Anne Street, the road running parallel to Wigmore Street from Welbeck Street to Chandos Street. Owing to its proximity to Wimpole Street and Harley Street, it is much frequented in these days by the medical profession. But it has other claims to fame. John Landscer A.R.A. (1769-1852), the line engraver, lived at No. 33: and Sir Edwin Landscer, R.A. (1802-1873), his famous son, was born there. The Lewises succeeded the Landscer in the house: and the two families were on the most intimate terms.

Frederick Christian Lewis, senior (1779-1850), who was engraver to George the Fourth, William the Fourth and Queen Victoria, was the son of Colonel Ludwig, a Hanoverian, who settled in London in the reign of George the First. His brother George Robert Lewis (1782-1871) was a painter of repute: and he was the father of three distinguished artists. John Frederick Lewis (1805-1876), the eldest, was elected a Royal Academician in 1865 and is well known for his pictures of Spain and Egypt: he visited Spain in 1832 and Egypt in 1843. Charles George Lewis (1808-1880), was an engraver in line and mezzotint, like his father, and also an etcher. The youngest, Frederick Christian Lewis Junior (1814-1875) is the subject of this biography.

He studied under Sir Thomas Laurence and at the age of fourteen painted a clever life-size self portrait which is in the possession of his daughter Mrs. Musson. In 1835-1836 he went to Malta and Constantinople with a letter of introduction from the Duke of Buckingham. The drawings he made there were published under the name of his brother John, but J. F. Lewis had not at that time been in the East. On his return in 1836 he wrote at the suggestion of Lord John Russel to the British Minister at Teheran who invited him to be his guest. He proceeded accordingly to Persia and painted a portrait of the Shah.

When Colonel Stoddart was sent on a mission to Bokhara in 1838, he obtained permission to accompany him, but on the last stage of the journey he was overtaken by one of the Shah's outriders with orders for his return, as the risk was too great. Stoddart and his companion Arthur Conolly were imprisoned on reaching Bokhara, released, and again imprisoned and ultimately murdered on June 17, 1842.



FREDERICK CHRISTIAN LEWIS, Junior (1814 - 1875)
From a Portrait painted at the age of 40

Persia in those days was a land of romance hardly changed from the days of Haroun-al-Raschid: and many were the adventures with which Lewis delighted his children in later years. On one occasion a kazi was administering justice from a raised platform in the bazar and Lewis was sitting beside him sketching. A man was sentenced to be bastinadoed and after some time the kazi said to Lewis: "When you have quite finished, he has had enough!" "The sketch is with Mrs. Musson. On another occasion he was on the border of Turkestan, as the guest of a Sunni princess who governed in her own right and fought at the head of her troops. When sketching in the neighbourhood of a Shiah village, he and his servants were stoned. They were rescued by a man who drew them into his house and helped them at nightfall to escape over the flat roofs. The next day, on taking leave of the princess, she expressed regret that her guest should have been so insulted and said that he would see that the perpetrators had been adequately punished. On passing out of the town, a man was hanged on either side of the gate! Mrs. Musson has the portrait of the princess which was painted by her father.

From Persia Lewis went to Bagdad, and was in Mosul and Nineveh with Sir Austen Layard, and also at Babylon with Sir Henry Rawlison. Mrs. Musson possesses his sketch of the great rock on which is carved Darius, with the subject nations tied together, and his foot on the neck of the foremost.

His drawings were shown in London and were favourably received. The *Athenaeum* wrote: "The great attraction of the evening was Mr. Lewis's sketches in Asia Minor"; and the *Literary Gazette* praised two "Subjects in Persia". These now belong to Lord Lansdowne. Others were bought by Lord Northwick. The portrait of the Shah won the praise of Sir David Willis who wrote that it "would do credit to a much older artist". According to a notice which appeared in the *Examiner* at the time. This picture became the property of the queen; but from enquiries which had been made it would appear that it is no longer in the Royal collection.

In 1839, at the age of twenty-five, Lewis went out to India (1). The first intimation which we have of him in that country is an announcement in the *Bombay Courier* of November 16, 1839 (2), that he purposed visiting Poona, Ahmadnagar and Aurungabad on his way to Delhi and Kashmir and

(1) In view of the close family friendship between the Lewises and the Landseers, it is interesting to note that George Landseer (1834-1878), the only son of Thomas Landseer A. R. A. (1798-1880) the engraver and nephew of Sir Edwin Landseer R. A. (1802-1873) and Charles Landseer R. A. (1799-1879), went out to India in 1859 and painted many portraits of Indian Princes and also a series of watercolours of Kashmir. He returned to England in 1870. There is an allusion to his portrait of Maharaja Jyaji Rao Sindhia of Gwalior (1843-1886) in *Hobson Jobson* (2nd edn. 1903: pp. 456-457): "In the houses of many chiefs every picture on the walls has its *jawab* or duplicate. Major General Keatinge writes that the portrait of Scindiah in his dining room was the *jawab* (copy) of Mr. C. [sic] Landseer's picture and hung opposite to the original in the Durbar room." Major-General Richard Harte Keatinge V. C. (1825-1904) was Political Agent at Gwalior in 1862-63 and subsequently, from 1874 to 1878, the first Chief Commissioner of Assam.

(2) Sir William Foster has kindly supplied this reference.

that he would stay for a short time at each of these stations "in case any parties should require the service of his pencil in portraiture." From Aurangabad he certainly went to Hyderabad, where he painted a portrait of the British Resident, Colonel James Stuart Fraser (1783-1869), and also a picture of an entertainment given at the Residency in 1841 to Maharaja Chandu Lal (1766-1845), who was the virtual ruler of the state for thirty-five years (3). While at Hyderabad, he also painted for the Nizām "The Nautch", a picture which earned the high approval of Sir Edwin Landseer who wrote to his father: "I think his pictures wonderfully clever. We have few men who possess the power of rapidly seizing and as rapidly depicting character. I was astonished at some of his heads: they are like Velasquez."

In 1842 Lewis was at Madras and was employed in renovating and framing several of the pictures in the collection at Government House. The pictures were those of the Marquess Wellesley (by Thomas Hickey), Sir Arthur Wellesley (by Hoppner), Lord Clive (by Thomas Day, after Dance), Sir Eyre Coote (by Hickey) and "three Nabobs", which must be the portraits of Walajah and his son Amir-ul-Umara, and the large painting of Shuja-ud-Daula Nawab Wazir of Oudh (probably presented by Sir Robert Barker and attributed to Tilly Kettle). "Two satinwood and gold frames" were provided for "the small pictures of the Nabobs", and "a mahogany and gold frame for the large picture of the Nabob." In a report presented to the Government of Madras at the end of 1842 Lewis stated that he had "examined the remaining pictures in the Banqueting Hall . . . and that the only ones which are seriously impaired are those of General Wallace and General Medows. There are three other picture, these of the king [George the Third] and Queen [Charlotte] and General Agnew which . . . require to be re-varnished and re-strained and repaired." There is no record as to whether the work was carried out. The portrait of General Medows which is by Home, hangs in the Banqueting Hall. But nothing is known of the portraits of General Agnew and General Wallace (4).

Lewis himself is represented in the Government House collection by a posthumous portrait of Azam Jah, Nawab of the Carnatic. Who died in 1825, and by an enormous painting (6 ft. by 7ft. 6 in.) of the installation of Nawab Ghulam Muhammad Ghaus Khan by Lord Eephistone in 1842. The latter contains a croud of figures, of which between sixty and seventy are portraits. The sittings for these extended over eighteen months. Both pictures were commissioned by Nawab Muhammad Ghaus, who was the last Nawab of the Carnatic: and were purchased by the Government of Madras at the Chepauk Palace sale in 1859 (5).

(3) An engraving of this picture by F. C. Lewis, senior, was presented to the Victoria Memorial in 1904 by the Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedavad.

(4) These details are taken from Col. H. D. Love's Descriptive List of the Pictures at Government House, Madras.

(5) The picture of the installation which was exhibited at the Royal Academy was engraved in mezzotint by F. C. Lewis senior and C. G. Lewis. There are no copies at the India Office and the Victoria Memorial Hall (with key plate).



THE INSTALLATION OF THE NAWAB NAZIM OF BENGAL,
AT MURSHIDABAD,
May 21, 1847

Painted by F. C. Lewis junior. Engraved by F. C. Lewis senior

In 1845 and 1846 Lewis was in Mysore, where he painted a portrait of the British Commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon (1785-1861) and also a large picture of the Dasara Durbar, which was exhibited at the British Institution and was engraved in 1849 by his father (6). Of this picture *The Times* wrote: "An immense group of figures assembled in the Prince's Throne Room to witness one of those eastern displays of procession, skirmishing, juggling, etc., treated with an artist-like skill, producing a dazzling whole, produced for the Prince of Mysore." The *Observer*, the *Examiner*, and the *Illustrated London News*, were equally eulogistic.

In the following year (1849) Lewis was at Moorshedabad, painting the installation of the last Nawab Nazim of Bengal Behar and Orissa (Nawab Syud Mansur Ali Faridun Jah), who was placed on the musnud on May 21, 1847, by Mr. H. W. Torrens, the Resident (7). This picture, and a companion picture, representing the Nawab in Durbar, which he painted in 1849 are in the Palace at Moorshedabad. According to the *Examiner* the picture of the "Installation", which is described as "a gorgeous work, resplendent with Eastern pomp and circumstance," was a present to the Queen from the Nawab Nazim and was brought to England by Mr. Lewis for that purpose; but, as already stated, it is now at Moorshedabad. The "Durbar" is stated by the *Court Journal* to have been exhibited to Her Majesty who commanded that her name should head the list of subscribers to the engraving, which was executed in due course by F. C. Lewis senior, in 1854 (8). A portrait was also painted at this period of Sir Thomas Herbert Mordaunt, Deputy Governor of Fort William from 1845 to 1850.

During part of the year 1849, and in 1850 Lewis was in England and Italy. In 1851 he returned to India and visited the state of Travancore, where he painted several portraits including one of the Maharaja (9) and also a picture to commemorate the formal reception by the Maharaja on November 27, 1851, of an autograph letter from Queen Victoria (10). According to Mrs. Musson, the picture was taken to England by Lewis and presented to the Queen on behalf of the Maharaja; but there is no trace of it in the Royal collection, either at Windsor Castle or Buckingham Palace. In 1853 Lewis was at Pudukota, and painted a portrait of the Maharaja H. H. Ramchandra Tondiman (died 1886). This was engraved by the elder Lewis; and copies are to be seen at the India Office and the Victoria Memorial Hall.

The picture of the Durbar at Udaipur (39 inches by 60 inches) which is at the India Office was painted in 1855. Disturbances had broken out in the State, and the Durbar was held in January of that year to celebrate the settle-

(6) There is a copy of the engraving at the India Office.

(7) Reproduced on the opposite page. There are copies of the engraving by F. C. Lewis senior and C. G. Lewis at the India Office and the Victoria Memorial Hall.

(8) For an illustration of the "Durbar at Moorshedabad", see P. C. Mazumdar's *Musnud of Moorshedabad* (Moorshedabad: 1905: p. 116). There is a copy of the engraving at the India Office.

(9) This portrait was engraved by F. C. Lewis, senior, and there is a copy at the India Office.

(10) A copy of the engraving by F. C. Lewis Senior is at the India Office.

ment which had been made. In the centre of the picture is His Highness Maharana Sarup Singh, who reigned from 1842 to 1861, and protected the English refugees from Nimach during the Mutiny, declaring that any one who dared to violet the sanctity of their refuge should die by his hand. On his right are Sir Henry Laurence, the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana at the time, his elder brother, Sir George St. Patrick Laurence, who succeeded him in that office, and the Residency officials. On the left are the Thakurs of the State : and in front of the Maharana Mehta Sher Singh, the Pardhan or Minister, is unrolling the *Kaulnama*, or terms of agreement. The picture was purchased in 1904 from General G. G. Pearse, C.B.

After completing this picture, Lewis was obliged by reasons of health, to leave India and did not return until 1863. In 1856 he was in Paris with his young family of two sons and two daughters, whose ages ranged from 8 to 14. Mrs. Musson writes :

"Never have children had a happier life or been educated in a more original fashion. My father did not believe in lessons. He held that languages were all important and that we could best learn them at theatres and operas, where he took us two or three times a week. He gave us the books (no story books except walter Scott in French) and expected us to spend some hours every day in study. To live with him was a liberal education. He was always teaching us orally in museums and galleries."

From Paris an expedition was undertaken to the lake of Geneva : and the St. Gothard was crossed in a travelling carriage, and a visit paid to Turin, Genoa, and Florence, where the winter was spent. In 1857, Leghorn and Nice were visited, in 1858, Rome, Naples and Sorrento, with an excursion in November to Barcelona, Valencia, Malaga and Gibraltar ; wintering at Cadiz. In May 1859, the family went to the Canary Islands, and nine months were spent at Orotava. There was no hotel in those days, and the Lewises were the only strangers. A villa was hired from "a Spanish hidalgo, of courteous and ceremonious manner. Whose ordinary garment was a blanket with a hole in the centre, through which he passed his head."

In February 1860 the party returned to Paris, and Lewis was persuaded by some American friends, from the Southern States, to cross the Atlantic with his family. He refused to be separated from his library of over 3000 books and his collection of pictures and engravings, including Sir Joshua Regnold's wonderful mezzotintos ; and, as a matter of fact, he carried them all round the world. "In the sailing ships of those days the cost was not great but the Panama railway cost about £200." At Newport, Rhode Island, many hospitable friends were made. The elder son, who had gone to the Southern States, intending to buy a farm, joined the Confederate Army during the Civil War. The younger son went to Siberia for a year with a friend in order to learn Russian.

In February 1862, Jamaica was visited ; and in March California. April and June were spent in New Zealand and August at Sydney, New South Wales. In November, the party was in Hong Kong, and in December at Singapore. On the voyage from Sydney to Hong Kong, with three hundred

coolies on board under hatches, the ship (Mrs. Musson relates) was surrounded by Chinese pirate junks when in the estuary of the Canton river ; the captain sailed right through the junks and sunk them. From Singapore Lewis went to Siam, at the invitation of Sir Robert Schomburgk, the British Minister, and painted a full length portrait of one of the kings in the uniform of an English admiral. Mrs. Musson has two of the king's letters among her papers. As he was anxious to visit Peking, Lord John Russel sent him a letter of introduction to the British Minister, who invited the whole party to stay with him. Lewis, however, went alone, leaving his wife and family at Singapore. After two months at Peking the Minister provided Lewis with an escort and camels, and he visited the Great Wall, of which Mrs. Musson has a pencil sketch. He then made a three months' journey across the Gobi desert, and on his return painted the portrait of a Chinese grandee. His next voyage was to Japan. Relations between the British and the Japanese were strained at the time : but he was able, through the good offices of the United States Minister, to obtain an escort of 20 mounted men and to visit the whole island. He was charmed with the courtesy and kindness of the people, and astonished at their artistic skill and their intense love of all that was beautiful.

In 1863 Lewis rejoined his family at Singapore and they went, by way of Penang Moulmein and Rangoon, to Calcutta. At Penang some old friends came on board—Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice of Bengal, and Lady Peacock with their two sons. Shortly after their arrival at Calcutta, Mrs. Musson's sister became engaged to the late Mr. Frederick Barnes Peacock, I.C.S., of the Bengal Civil Service, and they were subsequently married. Lewis and his other daughter, Mrs. Musson, spent a couple of months at Moorshedabad as guest of the Nawab Nazim. "Every morning," writes Mrs. Musson, "the Nawab's English coachman came to wind an endless number of machanical clocks, and to learn at what hour we would like to take our drive." From Moorshedabad they went to Benares, on a visit to the judge, Mr. Charles Horne. On the night of their arrival the Maharaja of Benares gave a grand ball. The weather was cold, and a fire of large logs was kept burning in the supper shamiana. "At night small earthen saucers filled with water were placed in the fields, and when we rode in the early morning, we found them filled with ice." After a short stay at Patna, Lewis and Mrs. Musson returned to Calcutta for the wedding in April 1863 of Mr. Peacock and the other daughter (11).

In April 1864 Lewis and his wife and unmarried daughter went to Madras and Cochin where the ladies stayed with a Mr. Aspinwall, while Lewis visited his old friend the Maharaja of Travancore at Trivandrum. In July they returned to Madras and Calcutta, and in November proceeded to Ceylon and Bombay. Mrs. Lewis sailed for England from Bombay and did not return to India.

Lewis brought with him to Bombay letters to Sir Bartle Frere (Governor

(11) Mrs. Christine Peacock died at Calcutta in 1873. Her grave is in the Lower Circular Road cemetery. Mr. Frederick Peacock, her son, was enrolled as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court on December 20, 1889.

from 1862 to 1867), and was introduced to the leading merchant princes who were at that moment at the height of their prosperity. He obtained many commissions. The Governor engaged him to restore the group-picture (now at Government House Ganeshkhind) of Madho Rao Peshwa, Nana Farnavis, and Mahadaji Sindhia, which was painted by James Wales at Poona between June 11, 1792, when Sindhia came to that place, and February 12, 1794, when he died at Wanowri. Mr. Rustomjee Jamsetjee (12) ordered a series of pictures, including eight to illustrate the life of his father Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, whose career had been of the most romantic character (13). The fee to be paid was Rs. 36,000: and the work occupied Lewis for two years. His headquarter were principally at Poona, where he made many friends.

Unhappily, the cotton speculation of 1866 and the collapse of the Bank of Bombay, brought disaster to him as it did to so many others in western India. Mr. Rustomjee and most of the leading merchants failed. Lewis himself was ruined and his health broke down. He had received Rs. 9,000 from Mr. Rustomjee when the first master of the commission was delivered: but this was lost in the Bank of Bombay, and he did not receive another rupee. Mr. Rustomjee's administrator in bankruptcy offered him Rs. 2,500 in full settlement of his debt of Rs. 27,000. Later this was increased to Rs. 3,000, through the intervention of Sir Barnes Peacock, but Lewis refused both offers. Mr. Cursetjee, the brother of Mr. Rustomjee, owed also Rs. 9,000 for portraits delivered: but this sum was likewise lost.

Lewis returned to England and continued his wanderings. In 1868 he went to Cairo and there painted for the Khedive a large picture of the reception of the Prince of Wales: for this he was paid £10000. At Wiesbaden in 1869 he painted a picture of one the Rothschilds and also a life size portrait of Mr. Crawshay, "an eccentric millionaire iron-master who wore white linen suits, a scarlet *kamarband* and a large hat, and imagined that he was mistaken for the Governor-General of India."

In December 1874 Lewis again went to India, alone and in very bad health: but was ordered home by the doctors within a year. He died from exhaustion on May 26, 1875, after arriving in Genoa. His library, which was left in India was bought by the government.

Lewis's art was of a very distinctive character. He revelled in large groups, and in oriental types and colours. His drawing was good: and his technique won the approval of such masters as Sir David Wilkie and Sir Edwin Landseer.

EVAN COTTON.

(12) Rustomjee Jamsetjee (1829—1872), second son of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, first baronet, was a Justice of Peace for Bombay and a member of the Legislative Council: He was regarded as the prince of the cotton merchants and received the freedom of the city of London for his services in connexion with the Lancashire Cotton Famine Fund. His elder brother Cursetjee (1811—1877) succeeded to the baronetcy in 1859, and became the second Sir Jamsetjee.

(13) Mrs. Musson states that two of the pictures painted for Mr. Rustomjee recalled the episode when Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy returning to Bombay with his first ship filled with merchandise, was captured by pirates who had sailed round the cape and were afterwards shipwrecked. Sir Jamsetjee being the only survivor.

Some Soldiers of Fortune.

X.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH L'EPINETTE.

ON 30th September 1803 three officers of Scindia's Fourth Brigade surrendered themselves to Colonel (later General Sir) John Ormsby Vandeleur in the British camp at Muttra. They were the former brigade commander, the Chevalier Charles Dudrenec; Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith; and one whose name was given in the contemporary despatches (1) as "Lapanet". The Fourth Brigade had been in the Deccan on the outbreak of hostilities. Hastily recalled by Perron, it crossed the Narbadda at Hoshangabad on 23rd August; but by the time it had reached the vicinity of Gwalior its three European officers decided to make their way over to the British and to leave their command to its fate—which fate was to take part in the last stand of the Deccan Invincibles at Laswari, under the leadership of the redoubtable Muslim general, Sarwar Khan.

The careers of Dudrenec and Smith are sufficiently well known; but the name of "Lapanet" has long puzzled students of the First Maratha War, since it occurs in no other place. The nearest approach to it is in a "List of Mahratta Officers who receive Pensions from the British Government, with the Rank which they held in their respective service", which appeared in *The Original Calcutta Annual Directory and Bengal Register for Anno Domini 1816*, compiled by D. Gardiner and printed at the Morning Post Press at Calcutta. Here we find "Captain F. Lipenet" shown, as a former officer of Ambaji Ingliã's service. An old obituary notice takes us a step further, since it records the death at Patna, of cholera, on 8th January 1819, of Captain F. L'EpINETTE, in the service of Ambaji Ingliã. Here, then, we have the true name of the mysterious adventurer.

Little is known of L'EpINETTE's military career. There is a mention of him in the autobiography of Colonel Louis Bourquien (whose real name according to Smith was Louis Bernard), which was published in the *Journal* of the Punjab Historical Society in 1923. In 1798 the State of Indore was divided into two parties, Jaswant Rao Holkar's and Kasi Rao Holkar's, after the death of Tukaji Rao. Dudrenec declared for Kasi Rao, and soon attained considerable power—indeed, Bourquien says that "he governed the country for two years in the name of Kasi Rao." Then Jaswant Rao escaped from prison, "and betook himself to the neighbourhood of Indore where he soon collected a body of troops, and showed that he intended to take possession of the country. M. Dudrend underrated his strength and contented himself with sending

(1) *Notes relative to the Late Transactions in the Marhatta Empire*, London, 1804, p. 90.

against him two battalions commanded by MM. Martin and Lepinet. These two battalions were surprised and cut to pieces". It thus appears that L'Épinette was a follower of Dûdrenec's some time before the war of 1803, and must have followed him in his various changes—for the Chevalier was notoriously fickle in his allegiance.

It so happens that in 1917 the Government of Bihar and Orissa published in pamphlet form *A Record of Inscriptions at the Catholic Church at Patna*, by the Rev. A. Gille, S.J. (2). At the end of this list are a number of epitaphs of which only fragments are now legible: in particular the year-dates have now vanished. One, reconstructed, reads:—

Ici repose le corps de Madeleine L'Épinette Epouse de Capitaine Joseph L'Épinette décédée le 18 Février 1833 Agee d'environ . . . Ans décédé le 8 Janvier . . . Agé d'environ 60 ans. Passant priez Dieu pour le Répos de Leurs Ames. Memento Homo quia pulvis es et in Pulverem Reverteris.

The date 8th January, coupled with the name L'Épinette, enables us to identify this as the gravestone of the ex-Maratha officer and his wife, and adds to our knowledge in that it gives his age and his wife's name. In the same church are two more French epitaphs commemorating Françoise Magdeleine Le Vasché, eldest daughter of M. J. F. Le Vasché and Mme. C. Le Vasché, who died at the age of a year—*elle était nièce de Mr L'Épinette*—and Mme. Le Vasché, second wife of Mr. Jean Françoise Le Vasché, who died in her twenties—*elle était soeur de M. L'Épinette*. The year-dates from both these inscriptions, as well as other parts, are now illegible. (3)

XI.

GENERAL PERRON'S FIRST WIFE. (4)

The *Academic des Sciences Coloniales and the Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises* have recently (1931) published a book entitled *Le Général Perron*, by M. Alfred Martineau, a former Governor of the French Settlements in India. The biography is well produced and makes excellent reading; but some statements in it require correction.

M. Martineau provides four very interesting genealogical tables at the end of his book; the fourth of these showing the descendants of Major Deridan (*sic*). It is stated (p. 23) that Perron married as his first wife, at Delhi on 16th December 1782, Madeleine Deridan, native of Pondicherry, daughter of a major in the Maratha service. Later (p. 96) this statement is repeated with some additional details: her father was Major Deridan, a Frenchman of mixed blood and himself a native of Pondicherry, who had another daughter, Anne, who married Colonel John William Hessing. In an appendix (p. 212) the author prints a copy of the marriage certificate of Perron and Madeleine

(2) See also *Bengal: Past & Present*, vol. IX, pp. 33, 178.

(3) Reprinted from *Notes & Queries*, 21 May 1932.

(4) Reprinted by permission from the *Statesman*.

Deridan, in which she is described as daughter of the late Deridan (*filia legitima defuncti Deridan*), which is conclusive proof that her father was dead at the date of her marriage in December 1782. In her burial certificate her age is given as 36 years, and her birthplace as "Bacpour"; the latter contradicting M. Martineau's own statement that she was a native of Pondicherry.

The fact is that confusion has arisen between Major Louis Derridon (as the name was usually spelt) of the Maratha service; and his father, whose name may also have been Louis and was very probably a native of Pondicherry. The Milles. Derridon, Madeleine and Anne, who married Perron and John Hessing, respectively, were *sisters* of Major Louis Derridon, not daughters. "The late Derridon" of the 1782 entry cannot possibly be identified with Major Louis Derridon, who was living many years later. His seventh child was born in 1808, for instance, and his eleventh child in 1813 (*cf.* Mr. E. A. H. Blunt's *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces*, pp. 47-8). Indeed, Mrs. Fanny Parkes speaks of having seen him in 1838. The relationship of Major Louis Derridon to the first Mme. Perron was accurately stated by Herbert Compton (*European Military Adventurers in Hindustan*, p. 345). It is not perhaps necessary to point out the inherent improbability of any person who died in or before 1782 having held the rank of Major in the Maratha service: De Boigne himself did not join Scindia till 1784 and the First Brigade of regulars was not raised till 1790. It has been generally understood that the use of ranks such as Major or Captain was introduced only from the latter date.

From the date of Mm. Madeleine Perron's birth (1767/8) and its place ("Bacpour") we may conjecture with some show of probability that her father was one of the followers of René Madec—many of whom had come from Pondicherry—in the service successively of the Rohillas, the Jats of Bharatpur, and Shah Alam. Madec himself was married at Agra in April 1766, and at least one of his children was born at Bharatpur, in 1769. In the epitaphs of the children of various members of Madec's company at Agra Bharatpur is spelt "Barpour" or "Bartepour"; and it is not unreasonable to assume that "Bacpour" is but a variant spelling or a copyist's error.

To sum up: (a) Mme. Madeleine Perron was sister, not daughter, of Major Louis Derridon of Scindia's service: (2) her father was very probably a Freelance from Pondicherry in Madec's company about 1765-70.

XII.

LOUIS BOURQUIEN'S EARLY CAREER.

Bourquien's own account of his arrival in India is as follows:—

"I arrived in Bengal in 1787. Two months later I sailed up the Ganges as far as Cawnpore in search of employment under the Princes of the country. The English were at that time beginning to establish themselves at Farrukhabad. From Cawnpore I struck across country until I came to Dig, where I found the army of Mahdoji Scindia . . . This prince reposed entire confidence in a Frenchman named Lostonneau. He was so fond of him that he had adopted him as his

son, and had appointed him to a command consisting of three battalions. Lostonneau had three days previously taken into the service a Frenchman named Perron . . . and he also engaged me." (5)

With this we may contrast Perron's version :—

"Bourquin (*sic*) (6) was a French deserter from the English, whom he served as a private soldier. I took him in and concealed him after his desertion and, trusting to his honour, put him in the Brigades as an officer." (7)

These are the primary sources, so far as they are known to me, regarding Bourquien's entry into military adventure in India. Major L. F. Smith, who knew him, states that his real name was Louis Bernard (8). Compton, who devoted much research to the subject, adds that he came to India in Admiral Suffrein's fleet (1781-2), landing at Pondicherry where he remained some time. He then made his way to Calcutta, and enlisted in Doxat's Chasseurs in the English Company's service. On the reduction of that corps, Compton continues, he obtained employment as a cook, and later as a pyrotechnist, at Calcutta. Then he returned to soldiering and joined the Begam Sombre's *campoo* as an officer, transferring to the Maratha service about 1784. (9)

Compton's account requires revision in the light of modern authorities. It is first necessary to glance at the history of Doxat's Chasseurs, the foreign regiment in the English Company's service on the Bengal Establishment in which Bourquien served. This corps was also known as the "French Company", "Foreign Rangers", and "European Rangers"; and is stated to have been raised after the fall of Pondicherry (doubtless the first capitulation, in 1761) or at the end of the Seven Years War in 1763. It fought at Miranpur Katra ("the Battle of St. George") on 23rd April 1774; in 1781 was stationed at Chunar, 120 strong, and took part in the operations against Raja Chet Singh of Benares in August and September of that year, Captain Doxat himself being killed at Ramnagar on 20th August. In 1784 it was stationed at Cawnpore, and it seems to have been disbanded about 1786 (10). Only the last sentence is strictly relevant to Bourquien's career.

(5) *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, vol. IX (1923), pp. 36-70, wherein is printed Louis Bourquien's autobiography, the MS. of which was acquired in 1914 by (Sir) J. P. Thompson, I.C.S., from a firm of booksellers in Frankfort-on-Main. Its provenance could not be ascertained. It is curious that Perron's biographer, M. Alfred Martineau (see note (7) below) should not have made use of this in his book published eight years later.

(6) The spelling Bourquien is preferred as being the Colonel's own.

(7) *Le Général Perron*, par Alfred Martineau, Paris, 1931, p. 170.

(8) *A Sketch of the Rise Progress and Termination of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India*, by Lewis Ferdinand Smith, Calcutta, n.d. (c. 1804); 2nd edn., London, 1805.

(9) *A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers in Hindustan*, by Herbert Eastwick Compton, London, n.d. (1892), p. 341. M. Martineau follows Compton as regards Bourquien's early life.

(10) *Soldiering in India*, ed. W. C. Macpherson, London, 1925, pp. 335, 394; Mirzapur District Gazetteer, Allahabad, 1911, *passim*; *List of Officers of the Bengal Army*, by Maj. V. C. P. Hodson, London, 1928, Vol. II, p. 83.

As regards the date, 1787, given by Bourquien for his arrival in Bengal, it is to be remarked that in the immediately preceding passage of his autobiography he says: "I shall write from memory, consequently I can only give the dates approximately." It is I think safe to say that Bourquien's own version of his early days is substantially true as far as it goes, but that it does not represent the whole truth. When we add to it Perron's version, it becomes clear that Bourquien was serving in the ranks of Doxat's Chasseurs at Cawnpore about 1784-6; and that he deserted from that station and made his way across country to Dig. There he met Perron, who by the way had also come to India with Admiral Suffrein and who may have known Bourquien before. About 1784, after various adventures, Perron entered the service of the Jat Raja of Bharatpur, as a quartermaster-serjeant in Lostonneau's (11) corps. In this corps he remained till 1789 or a little later (12).

Bourquien goes on to relate that he took part with Lostonneau's corps in the war between Scindia and the Raja of Jaipur. In this campaign the Bharatpur Raja allied himself with the Marathas; and Lostonneau's corps thus came to take part. Bourquien states that he fell ill at the time Lostonneau retired on Agra, and consequently returned to Bengal. This was in 1787; and it is not impossible that his illness was but a pretext. In his first campaign, though he was not on the winning side, it is not improbable that he benefited financially, and that when Lostonneau absconded with the pay of his battalion and the saddle-bags stuffed with jewels from the Mughal Emperor's palace, some considerable share of the loot fell to Bourquien. Further, now that Doxat's corps was disbanded, it was reasonably safe for Bourquien to travel down to Calcutta without being apprehended by the British authorities as a deserter.

Regarding his activities during this visit to Bengal Bourquien is silent, but Compton tells us that, after being employed for some time as a cook, he started business as a manufacturer of fireworks, and in this capacity accompanied one Gairard, the proprietor of the Vauxhall Gardens of Calcutta, to Lucknow. The autobiography states that he "again put in an appearance on this unending scene of revolution just as Ghulam Kadir put out the eyes of" the Emperor Shah Alam. This event took place on 10th August 1788; which enables us to fix with some exactness the date of Bourquien's return to military adventure. After relating the story of the Delhi anarchy he states: "I took no part in all these happenings. On my return to Hindustan, I had entered the force of the Begam Sombre, and I remained in it for six years"—that is to say, presumably, from the latter half of 1788 to 1793.

It seems however that he has made an under-estimate when he gives the duration of his service in the Begam's forces as six years, for he goes on to describe how he was in her employ at the time of the mutiny against Le Vassault, which took place in April 1795. He was then stationed at Badshahpur near Gurgaon, whence he was transferred with four companions in mis-

(11) The name is also spelt Lestineau or Lesteneau: see Compton, pp. 368-9.

(12) Compton, p. 222; Martineau, p. 23; J. Panjab Hist. S., pp. 37-8.

fortune to Sardhana and kept under arrest. One of these companies must have been Jean Remy Saleur, who was to fight against Wellington at Assaye as Bourquien was to be Lake's adversary at Delhi. Eventually Bourquien was released and found his way *via* Parichatgarh to Koil, where he met Pedron, who gave him employment in Scindia's regular brigades. It is not easy to fix the date of his release, which may have occurred any time between June 1795 and July 1796 (13).

Bourquien mentions however that his first task⁷ as an officer in the Brigades was "to restore order in the Mewat, a hilly tract which had risen in revolt after the departure of M. De Boigne" (14). Now De Boigne had quitted Koil for the Company's territories on Christmas Day 1795 (15), but he did not leave India till September 1796. I cannot trace any independent reference to the Mewat campaign; but in any case it seems safe to say that Bourquien did not enter Scindia's Brigades till 1796. Major E. Pedron was then commanding the Third Brigade; and we may conclude that Bourquien was posted to that formation (16).

XIII.

MAJOR GEORGE ROBERT FRASER.

George Robert Fraser was born 11 November 1777, at Portarlinton, Queen's County, Ireland. He was eldest son of David Fraser (c. 1753-1784) of Finglass, barrister-at-law, by his wife (whom he married 23 September 1775) Mary, daughter of Arthur Mosse. (17) As heir to the estates of his grand-father Colonel George Fraser, he became a ward in Chancery on the latter's death on 11 January 1797. He entered the Royal Marines, being gazetted a second-lieutenant therein with effect from 1 May 1796. He served in H. M. S. *Regulus* from 20 October 1796 to 8 April 1798, and was probably present at the capture by the *Regulus* on 2 November 1796 of the Spanish ship *San Pio*. In 1797 he was engaged in a cutting-out expedition against French privateers at Cape Roxo, S. Domingo. He then left the *Regulus* and returned to headquarters till he relinquished his commission in the Royal Marines on 30 November 1798.

(13) *Begam Samru*, by Brajendranath Banerji, Calcutta, 1925, (pp 38-65), is the authority I have followed as regards the chronology of this period.

(14) *J. Panjab Hist. S.*, p. 41.

(15) Compton, p. 92. M. Martineau (p. 46) has an account of a grand review at Agra in February 1796 when De Boigne addressed his troops and distributed a million francs to them; but De Boigne never returned to Upper India after leaving for Lucknow at the end of 1795. In this M. Martineau follows Saint-Genis (*Le General de Boigne*, Poitiers, 1873), p. 248.

(16) A passage in a letter from Major Louis Drugeon at Delhi, dated 30 April, 1802, to de Boigne in France (Saint-Genis, p. 366) however infers that Bourquien arrived at Koil when de Boigne was still there, and applied for an ensign's commission.

(17) We may thus conjecture that he was related to Captain Pierce Tydd Mosse, of the Raja of Nagpore's service, who died at Seoni, 28 November 1839.

On his twenty-first birthday he married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Gamble, D.D. : the ceremony according to tradition took place in prison where he had been placed in order to prevent his marriage whilst a ward of Chancery. Shortly after quitting the Marines he is said to have served with a cavalry regiment in Ireland, but his name cannot be traced in the Army Lists. For several years he was engaged in litigation connected with his newly inherited estates : about the beginning of 1805 the suits were settled and he was left with a substantial income. On 1 May 1805 he became an ensign in the 4th West India Regiment ; but never joined that corps, having purchased on 1 August 1805 a lieutenancy in the 47th Foot. On 23 January 1806 he transferred to H. M. 77th Foot, which he joined in India. On 19 December 1807 the 77th was ordered from India, and shortly before its departure Fraser transferred to H. M. 65th Foot, which was also serving in India. He sold out on 1 November, 1809, on being offered the command of one of the two brigades of regular infantry in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad at Arrangabad in Berar.

Entering the Nizam's service in 1809, by January 1810 he was in communication and co-operation with the Resident at Nagpur. In 1812 he is recorded to have been commanding a newly raised regiment of infantry which had been raised by Raja Govind Baksh, Governor of Berar, for employment against the Pindaris who were infesting the country. In 1813 the troops in Berar were reorganised, the regular infantry consisting of two brigades, each of two battalions. Fraser commanded the second of these brigades. The first battalion of his brigade was inspected in February 1814 by Major-General Rumby, who reported it to be in a very high state of discipline and efficiency. On 24 October 1815 a party of 300 Berar Infantry and 100 cavalry under Fraser's command surprised a body of two to three thousand Pindaris in their camp at Nimbola, west of Aurangabad. The Pindaris mounted and galloped off, and would have suffered considerable loss had the Berar Cavalry followed them up; but the latter refused to do this, and "no persuasion on the part of Major Fraser could induce them to attack the enemy". In recognition of his services on this occasion the Guild of Merchants at Dublin sent him an address and an inscribed gold snuff-box. (18)

On 27 April 1817 Fraser left Aurangabad with a force consisting of six companies of regular infantry, two guns, and 600 Reformed Horse, for operations against Trimbakji, who had seized the fort of Sendiya. On 3 May following the fort was captured and the enemy routed. In the Maratha and Pindari War, 1817-8, Fraser's Brigade served with Major Pitman's Brigade in the various operations ; and was afterwards reported as one of the two Berar corps which was fit to take its place in brigade with regular troops. On 11 April 1817 Major Robert Pitman, Bengal Army, was ordered to take command of all the regular Nizam's Infantry in Berar ; and apparently did so in September 1817. Fraser much resented his supersession and had a stormy scene with Pitman.

(18) This incident has been immortalised by Meadows Taylor (himself a Nizam's officer) in his *Confessions of a Thug* (World's Classics edn., pp. 345-6).

He then entered the service of the Raja of Berar and held a command in the Nagpur territory, in 1826 being stationed at Chhindwara, where he lived in some state. Owing to the failure of his health, he resigned on 2 October 1831, receiving a small pension; and embarked at Pondicherry for Europe. He settled at Honfleur, near Havre de Grace in France; died at Granville; and was buried at Havre on 17 November 1835. "He had a hot temper but a strong and resolute character".

By his first wife he had three sons and a daughter:—

1. David Winter Fraser, of whom more later.
2. George Robbins Fraser (1805—1885), barrister-at-law.
3. Lt.-Col. Thomas Gamble Fraser, (1807—1878), of the Bombay Army (19).
4. Mary Louisa Fraser, m. (1), at Nagpur, 8 Sept., 1819, Surgeon James Gordon, Madras Establishment, nephew of Alexander Gordon (1755-1824) of Newton, Aberdeenshire, & sometimes of Tobago, West Indies. He d. at Tokah nr. Bombay, 9 Nov., 1824. She m. 16 Oct., 1829, (2) Maj.-Gen. Sir Ephraim Gerrish Stannus, Kt., C.B., sometime Lieut.-Governor of the East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe (1784-1850) (see *D.N.B.* & *D.I.B.*). By her first husband she had two sons & a dau.: (i) James Richard Gordon, b. 14 Oct. 1820, at Hyderabad; bapt. Hyderabad, 21 Dec. 1821; matric. Oriel Coll. Oxford, 2 May 1839; B.A., 1844; (ii) Geo. Alexander Gordon, b. 21 Dec., 1823; bapt. 8 March 1824; d. 10 July 1824, at Nagpur; (iii) Isabella Louisa Gordon, b. 1 July 1822; bapt. 21 Sept. 1823, at Secunderabad; m. 11 Apr. 1848, Hon. Robert French Handcock, 8th son of 2nd Baron Castlemaine; & d. 19 April 1898, having had issue. By her second marriage Lady Stannus had no issue.

He married as his second wife, in India, on 12 May 1826, Miss M. (or N.) Brietczke, by whom he had one son and one daughter:—

1. Ensign Charles Stannus Fraser (1832—1853), of the Bengal Army.
2. Ellen Fraser, married Edward Thornhill, barrister-at-law of Woodlees, Woodstock, Oxon.: she died without issue in 1897.

George Robert Fraser's eldest son, David Winter Fraser, was born—probably in Ireland—on 6 September 1803. In 1823 he joined his father in the Raja of Nagpur's service, and for some years assisted him in a military capacity, as adjutant and battalion commander, and in cavalry work. He married on 26 January 1825, Margaret, daughter of George William Gillio, Bombay Civil Service, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Major Grant of Craggan. Subsequently he joined the uncovenanted civil service in Bengal, and in 1845 was Assistant Collector of Calcutta. He died on 23 October 1860. By his first wife (who died 18 March 1845) he was father of General George William

(19) Author of *Records of Sport and Military Life in Western India*, 1881.

Fraser (1828—1898), of the Bengal Army. He married as his second wife Mme. de Fenanceau.

Many of George Robert Fraser's descendants have served in the Indian Army. The above account is based on *Recollections with Reflections*, by Major-General Sir Thomas Fraser, Blackwood, 1914, pp. 2, 28—40, 439, & 443; *History of the Hyderabad Contingent*, by Major R. G. Burton, Calcutta, 1905, pp. 28, 30—32, 45, & 69; and information from Major V. C. P. Hodson and Lieut.-Col. S. G. G. Fraser, M.C., The Hazara Pioneers, great-grandson of Major G. R. Fraser.

H. BULLOCK.

An Eighteenth-Century Subaltern in India.

A SERIES of letters by "An Eighteenth Century Subaltern in India" have been appearing in the *Blue Peter* magazine (February to May, 1932). The writer is Lieut. (afterwards Major-General) John Anthony Hodgson, who was subsequently Surveyor-General of India from 1821 to 1829, and who died at Ambala on March 23, 1848, at the age of Seventy-one, while on his way to Simla on sick leave. After serving for a few years in a solicitor's office, he ran away and enlisted in the army. Subsequently, his father procured for him an infantry cadetship on the Bengal Establishment, and on June 15, 1799, he sailed from Spithead on board the *Britannia* Indiaman with a large convoy. "There are some fine ships in the fleet", he writes on July 8, "five China ships especially, the best of which is the *Abergavenny*, Capt. [John] Wordsworth." The *Abergavenny* was lost some years later, on February 5, 1805, on the Dorset coast, when on an outward voyage to Bengal. Capt. Wordsworth, who was a relative of the poet was drowned together with many of the crew and several passengers. On September 12 the *Britannia* arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, "after a tedious voyage of three months and two days" and remained there for ten days. The next letter is dated November 15 and is written "off the island of Mintan", on the west coast of Sumatra. When they left the Cape, they "ran for the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam", which lay in the track of the China ships, "hoping to make them to ascertain our longitude, out from the hazy weather we did not see them, and hauled up to the northward." The coast of Sumatra, near the Fortune Islands, was sighted on November 6: and, writes Hodgson, "in our present situation you may conceive what it is to be becalmed under the line, with neither fresh provisions, vegetables or tea." By December 5 they had, however, "escaped from the line", and had anchored on the southernmost of the Nicobar Islands, where they took seventeen pigs on board. "If we had stopped longer, we should have got plenty of pineapples, fowls, and yams, but it is better that we are here with a fine breeze, going at the rate of 200 miles a day; we who lately advanced hardly sixty miles in a month."

In the next letter, which is dated December 14, the arrival of the *Britannia* in Madras roads is reported: and here they were forced to remain. The captain (Thomas Barrow) "has taken a shop to sell his investments, he will be more in his sphere in a shop than in a ship": and Hodgson and three companions were obliged to take a small house at San Thome. On January 23, 1800, they were informed that the *Britannia* was not going on to Bengal: and the indignant passengers submitted a memorial of protest to the Governor in Council. It was not until the middle of March that a passage was obtained in the *Pigot*, which was carrying the horses and men of the Governor-General's

Bodyguard to Bengal. Eventually Calcutta was reached on March 26, and Hodgson proceeded by boat to join the 1st battalion of the 4th Bengal Infantry which was in camp at Azamgarh.

In several subsequent letters, written from Lucknow in the year 1803, Hodgson described the animal fights which formed the principal amusement of the Nawab Wazir. Saadat Ali Khan was then on the musnud. He had lived at Calcutta for several years before his accession "at a garden house", says William Hickey, "beautifully situated upon the point of two noble reaches of the river Hooghley. Exactly opposite to Colonel Watson's Docks at Kidderpore": and had acquired a taste for the society of Englishmen. He was constantly inviting them to marriage ceremonies and breakfasts, and also to witness those animal fights. Hodgson mentions among others a combat between two elephants, in which one of them who was sixty years old, pushed the other backwards into the river "which is about seven feet deep and sixty yards wide", followed him into the water and continued the struggle there until the Nawab ordered two females to be brought, "who took each one of the champions by the nose and conducted them peaceably away." This was at the spectacle arranged in honour of Lord Valentia. Of Henry Salt Lord Valentia's artist secretary, Hodgson writes sarcastically: "He is accompanied by a guizzical kind of a virtuoso as a squire errant who no doubt will favour the world with an account of his travels after a six months' residence in the country. How beautifully and truly will he paint manners and customs of the people, their different sects, etc. Should they not sell in England, they will sell in India, as old residents will be curious to see the observations of an author whose knowledge of the language does not extend further than being able to call for bread and butter!"

Military operations were confined to a succession of expeditions against refractory talukdars, which were collectively known as the mud war." These were frequently accompanied by the loss of valuable lives. Hodgson mentions the death of Major Nairne and Lient. Pollock in the attack on Cutchoura (Kachaura) in the Aligarh district on March 12, 1803. Nairne, he says, "was a man of uncommon personal courage and activity." In the previous year he had accidentally encountered a tiger when riding with General Lake near Kanauj and had "killed it single-handed with his spear from off horseback." The story is somewhat differently told by Major W. Thorn in his "Memoir of the war in India conducted by Lord Lake" (published in 1818). According to Thorn, "on a hunting excursion a tiger of large size was shot with a pistol by General Lake, just as the ferocious animal was in the act of springing upon Major Nairne, by whom it had been previously speared." Lake was present in person at the assault on Kachaura. The resistance of Adhikarin, the talukdar, was so stout that it was necessary to open up trenches and place batteries in position. When the arrangements for a bombardment were completed, the garrison endeavoured to cut their way out under cover of a dark night, but were caught by the 6th Bengal Cavalry, of which Nairne was in command. Fanny Parks, in her "Wanderings of a Pilgrim", speaks of "Kutchowra, which stopped and fought Lord Lake and killed the famous Major Narine of tiger-killing memory."

Writing from Lucknow on June 10, 1803, Hodgson gives an account of the establishment which a subaltern in the Bengal Army was expected to maintain in those days :

I have a horse, a couple of camels, and a brace of pointers, with a dozen sheep and goats. For all furniture I have a chair and two tables, a cot, some camel and bullock trunks, and camp baskets. Two camels carry my tent, another with a couple of bullocks. A few banghy wallahs take all the rest of my moveables.

A Sepoy officer, who is not ready to move at an hour's warning is liable to lose his tent allowance. At out-stations we are obliged to keep a full establishment of cattle and people, but here, being near a large town where we can readily hire, we are allowed to relax a little. Our being thus always ready to go on detachment or service is the reason we keep more servants than you would think in England necessary. Moreover, in this country no man will perform two duties. Of these but a very small proportion are domestics, as cooks, scullions, waiters, and such like. The rest are field servants, a military kind of people : as clashes [khalasis] or pioneers for pitching tents, foraging, etc., camal men, bullock drivers, shepherds, grooms, grasscutters, chokedars, etc.

An officer at a station from whence detachments are not frequent, and where provisions, forage, etc. are plentiful, may venture to reduce his establishment a little . . . But this is not to last for ever. His corps is ordered to another station ; he must buy quarters if there are no troops there ; he must a space for himself and his cattle, as I did at Azamgar and Byramghaut. Should his corps happen to be relieved by another, he may sell these places. Should it not be relieved, he leaves these monuments of architecture as a legacy to the wild beasts.

At the end of September 1803, Hodgson was at Barrackpore, with the 2nd Bengal Volunteer battalion. On October 13 he is in Saugor Roads, on board the *Lady Castlereagh*, in command of a company of 104 Mussalman Sepoys, drafted from the different units at Barrackpore to serve as marines. The next three months were spent cruising in the Bay of Bengal with another armed Indiaman, the *Calcutta*. On February 7, 1804, he writes to say that he is encamped near Fort William, waiting to embark on the *Cornwallis* transport for some secret destination, which turns out to be Trincomalee. He arrived there on April 10, and in a letter of May 15 describes it as "without exception the worst station I ever was at or heard of, it is extremely unhealthy, and provisions are very scarce. However, by the middle of February 1805 he was back again at Barrackpore, after a passage of two months from Ceylon. His sea voyages (he writes) have so far been of service to him that he could not spend his allowances on board ship : "so that I am now able to furnish myself with horses and other campaigning cattle, and shall always be ready to march at an hour's notice from one end of India to the other."

Hodgson was next ordered to proceed to Cawnpore as interpreter with

five companies of H. M. 17th (now the Leicestershire) Regiment. Writing "on the River near Plassey" on August 10, 1805, he records that they left Calcutta on the 2nd and expected to reach Cawnpore in $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 months. His last letter is written from Cawnpore on November 10. He was applying for leave to be struck off the volunteers and would then rejoin the 10th B. I. which was "detached on service somewhere between Delhi and Hurdwar." It is strange to find him complaining that in his tent on the parade ground in the middle of the cantonment he is "much annoyed by wolves, thieves, and vermin."

Although Hodgson was not sent on active service, he has much to say about current events in his letters: and his comments are always shrewd. The interest attaching to his descriptions of Lucknow is enhanced by reproductions of the excellent sketches of that place made in 1857—half a century later, by General Sir David Dodgson and published in 1860. Dodgson was Assistant-Adjutant General with Havelock's force at the first relief of Lucknow and took part in Outram's defence of the Alambagh: he died in 1898 at the age of seventy six.

EVAN COTTON.

Darjeeling in 1841.

THE discovery, mentioned elsewhere in this number, of a picture and plan of Darjeeling in 1841 affords an opportunity of visualising what the station looked like and who lived in it ninety years ago and of judging how far its development has followed the lines laid down by the early pioneers. Admittedly the ground has been to some extent covered already in an article which the late Sir Walter Buchanan contributed to the 1908 issue of this Journal: but there are certain minor inaccuracies in that account which the discovery of the present plan enables us to correct and as the crucial development of Darjeeling took place between the years 1840 and 1850 there would appear to be room for an article on Darjeeling as it was when the development of the station according to the plans of the new Superintendent and his afterwards famous Executive Engineer was fairly under way.

It will be recalled that the possibility of Darjeeling as the site of a sanatorium for the British in Bengal was first brought to notice in 1828. The cession of an area which included the present Darjeeling and Lebong followed in 1835 but it was not till 1838, in the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland, that any steps were taken to lay out a station and it was only in 1840 that a "Superintendent" was appointed in the person of Dr. Campbell. The station plan of 1841 therefore represents Darjeeling in the second or third year of its existence as a residential station in the Company's domains.

Colonel Irvine's picture and plan reproduced on the opposite page show Darjeeling as a scattered village confined almost entirely to the crest and higher slopes of Birch Hill and the Jalapahar ridge. The sides of these hills were still covered with dense forest and much even of what is now the bazar area seems then to have been heavily timbered. Certainly both the West and East faces of the hill now crowned by the Eden Sanitarium and also the face of the hill opposite (where the Victoria Hospital now stands) are shown in the picture as densely wooded, as is the whole slope from the crest of Birch Hill ridge downwards over the site of the Happy Valley Tea Estate. Of this slope the Gazetteer map notes that it was an "uninhabited tract of forest and ravines descending to the valley of the Kahail Nuddi."

Before discussing the houses of 1841 and their occupiers it will be as well to get a framework by tracing out the roads of this embryo Darjeeling. The Chowrasta affords a suitable starting point for this. The name "Chowrasta" does not appear on the map although already four roads met there. It would appear that this locality was at that time, and for many years after, called "Dell Corner" after the name of a house, "The Dell", which stood on a site now occupied by shops at the Commercial Row corner of the Chowrasta. This house is not to be confused with "The Dale"—a large house still in existence behind the shops at that corner. Both houses are shown in



17

100
200
300
400
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600
700
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900
1000

the maps of 1851, but by 1878 "The Dell", which was the nearer to the Chowrasta, had disappeared.

Commencing, then, from "Dell Corner" and proceeding North-West, we find that the now popular level walk round Observatory Hill, "the Mall", already existed and followed, so far as can be seen, exactly its present alignment. This must, however, then have been a very new road as the map published to illustrate Sir Walter Buchanan's article (mentioned above) shows the greater part of it as only projected,—"circular road round the Government reserve traced out", as the map puts it. Though the map used by Sir Walter Buchanan is described in the Journal as a "Sketch of Darjeeling, 1841", it should be mentioned that it was reproduced from the "Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer" for that year, where it appears simply as "Sketch of Darjeeling", without date, and internal evidence goes clearly to show that the article which it was intended to illustrate was corrected only up to July 1840. It is therefore fair to assume,—as a comparison with Colonel Irvine's plan of October 1841 amply bears out,—that the Gazetteer map was prepared before the latter year and, in so far as it records existing features, represents an even earlier stage in Darjeeling's development than that disclosed in Colonel Irvine's plan. In fact the Gazetteer map was rather a plan of campaign than a record of achievement, as will be apparent from such entries as "church" (which means "site selected for church") and "palisade to be erected". The map was probably compiled early in 1840,—after Colonel Lloyd's "1,200 men" had made the "Station Road" but before the "thirty houses, all of wattle and dab" of mid-summer 1840 had made their appearance.

From the circular road, at the point where the main gate of Government House now stands, there was, as now, a single road running North-West along Birch Hill. This road followed at first the present alignment of Birch Hill Road West, descending gently past the sites of Lowland Place (then a location without any house), Jessamine Villa, Augusta Villa, and Woodbine, to the corner above the cemetery, where it left the present alignment and climbed up to the crest of the ridge by the present "Snow View Road". From this point the path followed the crest of the ridge, with the exception of a small stretch of about 200 yards to the North-West of the "dog's grave" where, as at present, the path lay to the West of the actual crest, climbing up the side of the hill to the summit where the "Pavilion" now stands. At this point—and not, as Sir Walter Buchanan seems to have assumed, at the level of the now-existing "cart road"—the path divided, one branch leading, as the map says, to "Tukvohr and Soom" and the other to "Sing Tam." The respective ridges down which these two paths ran are clearly marked on Colonel Irvine's map.

Except for short paths leading off from this road to the Hotel and to the seven houses which then existed between the summit of Birch Hill and Observatory Hill, this was the only road on or round Birch Hill. There was as yet no "Victoria Road"—though this had made its appearance by the time of Captain Sherwill's survey of 1851—and of course no "cart road" to Lebong. Indeed Lebong, where twenty-eight locations had been allotted, had to be reached down the Bhutia Busti spur from the Mall and there was no road

leading to it by way of Birch Hill.—probably for the reason hinted at in the Gazetteer map which shows the area now covered by the Pathabong and Rungneet Tea Estates, North of the hill, as “deep valley covered with forest, between the spurs Tukvar and Ging or Leebong”. The name “Birch Hill” does not appear on either of the two earlier maps but the maps of 1851 show the North-Western end of the ridge as divided into three “locations” of that name, and by that date also the present Birch Hill Road had been constructed and named. The single road of 1841 appears in the Gazetteer map as completed and was called then (and for many years after) “Station Road”,—a name which was applied also to the portion of the “Mall” on the West side of Observatory Hill. The probability is that, as the name itself would imply, this is the oldest road in Darjeeling. It may have been completed by Colonel Lloyd before Dr. Campbell joined in 1840 for already in February 1839 we read that Colonel Lloyd had “1,200 men engaged on the roads”—(it is hard to believe that this figure is not an exaggeration)—and work on the Darjeeling Hotel, reached by this road, was already in progress early in 1839.

From the circular road (the Mall), as the lettering of Colonel Irvine’s map indicates, there was a road to “Leebong”, taking off from the corner just above the site of the present Northern Bengal Mounted Rifles Headquarters: the map however shows no defined road. From the Station Road of those days only one road of importance branched off,—a road which followed almost identically the alignment of the present Mount Pleasant Road, starting from beside the Victoria Gardens (then the site of Colonel Lloyd’s own house, Mount Pleasant), passing East of and above the site of the Victoria Hospital and leading down to the bazar.

Returning to “Dell Corner” (the Chowrasta), we have the Station Road again, leading off from the South-West corner, and the road to Jalapahar leading out from the South-East corner. The Gazetteer map shows only one road to the South as completed at the time when that map was made. Curiously enough it is the road which passes below Rockville, winds up past Chevremont, The Glen and The Ridge, and climbs up over the top of Jalapahar. The present “Commercial Row” and “Auckland Road” are shown as a “level road being traced out”, while the present “Calcutta Road” is shown as a “new line of road traced out”. Both these roads, on their present alignment, are shown in Colonel Irvine’s map as already existing in October 1841, and as the latter at all events must have presented difficulties of engineering not easily surmounted, even by a Napier of Magdala, there is additional reason for concluding that the Gazetteer map reproduced by Sir Walter Buchanan shows Darjeeling prior to 1841.

To summarise, the Darjeeling of October 1841 had only six public roads (omitting the road down the Bhutia Busti spur to Leebong):—the “Station Road” from the North-West summit of Birch Hill to “Dell Corner”: the circular road round Observatory Hill: the road to the bazar from the site of the Victoria Gardens: the Eastern Jalapahar Road (now called the Calcutta road but at that time known as the “Eastern or Punkabarry Road”): the road over Jalapahar: and the road which is now called, in different sections, Commercial Row and the Auckland Road.

We come now to what is, perhaps, of more general interest,—the houses of 1841 and their occupiers. When Darjeeling was first opened for development, the area deemed suitable for building was offered to the public in "locations",—plots of ground of an average area of 100 yards square. The Gazetteer map was evidently a "location" map,—a map showing primarily locations already taken up or still vacant,—rather than a general map of Darjeeling,—*vide* the note "excellent building ground along the slope as far as the Gong range" which on that map disfigures the northern slope of Jalapahar. It only marks four private houses (perhaps no more existed at the date when the map was constructed) and though, read with the location index, this map may indicate the general position of others, it does not follow that everyone who took up a location built a house on it. From the "Guide and Gazetteer" itself it is clear that some thirty-seven locations had been taken up in Darjeeling and another twenty-eight in Lebong up to about the middle of 1840: it is also stated that there were already about thirty houses "all of wattle and dab, some with iron roofs but most with bamboo choppers,—mere cottages of a better sort. One or two pukka houses are building". These cottages and houses must for the most part have been erected between the date of the Gazetteer map and the date of the Gazetteer article. The value of Colonel Irvine's map is that, without troubling about location boundaries, which must have existed rather in the Superintendent's register than on the ground, he shows the actual houses then in existence. One's only regret is that Colonel Irvine did not give the house names as well: for these, with the exception of one or two given in the Gazetteer index, we have to wait till Captain Sherwill's maps of 1851 where many names well-known in Darjeeling to-day already find a place. Colonel Irvine denotes the houses either by the names of the owners ("Mr. Bruce's" or "Lieut. Napier's") or by the name of the owner of the location in which they stand,—("Mr. S. Smith's location")—but for every name given he marks a building on the map.

As against four private houses shown on the Gazetteer map, Colonel Irvine shows no less than twenty: the public buildings—the hospital, sapper lines and "cutcherry"—and also the Darjeeling Hotel are shown on both maps. Starting from the North-West corner—the Birch Hill end—Colonel Irvine's map marks a small house at the parting of the "Sing Tam" and "Tukvorh and Soom" roads. This appears on the map as "1" and in the index as "Mr. S. Smith's location". Careful measurements and the general configuration of the plan have convinced the writer that this house was on the North-West summit of Birch Hill,—near where the "Pavilion" or summer house and the new fountain stand. Sherwill's map of 1851 (the separate location sheets in the bound book in the Deputy Commissioner's Office,—not the reduced wall map, which, curiously enough, omits this house altogether) shows a single house at this point, situated in a location of which the registered number and name in 1851 were "No. 8: Birch Hill No. 1". The Gazetteer map also shows a house No. 1 at the fork of the two valley roads and the index says of it that it was called "John o' Groats House" and that it belonged to a Lieutenant Montgomery. Sir Walter Buchanan thought that the site "must have been near to the present fine house called Singamari". Now the scale

of feet in the Gazetteer map, as reproduced in the Gazetteer itself, is incorrect—it disagrees with its own 100 yards "location" measure given just below it!—and comparison by measurement on the maps is therefore difficult: but the situation of the Gazetteer's No. 1 house, at the junction of the two roads, and measurement by means of the correct 100 yards "location" measure prove the identity of this house with Colonel Irvine's No. 1 house and the latter (as the configuration of both maps also clearly shows) is not near Singamari but on the summit of Birch Hill. Sir Walter Buchanan is however probably right in his suggestion that the Lieutenant Montgomery of the Gazetteer map index was Lieutenant G. J. Montgomery of the 15th N. I. who were at Dinapore at the end of 1840: Lieutenant Montgomery became their Adjutant there on the 7th January 1841, but he might have been in Darjeeling in 1840 as there was, in addition to the "Sebundy Sappers" then being raised, a detachment of twenty-five "Native Infantry" (Regiment not stated) in the station and Montgomery may have been in charge of these. In any case he probably only rented the house from Mr. Smith (who also owned the Hotel), for, as stated above, Colonel Irvine refers to this as "Mr. S. Smith's location".

The next house along the ridge, on Colonel Irvine's map, is nearly 600 yards to the South-East of No. 1 and is shown as "No. 2. Mr. Torrens". This house was on the brow of a slope and must have been about where the house of the Forest Ranger in charge of Birch Hill Park now lives. The location (with a house) figures in Sherwill's map as "Prospect Hill". The Gazetteer map does not show a house here but marks the area "No. 4. Mr. Smith. 'Prospect Hill'". From the Gazetteer map No. 3 is missing, but No. 2 of the Gazetteer map can be located as the second summit of Birch Hill, —where the trigonometrical stone is. It is not clear what these numbers on the Gazetteer map indicate. They are not the registered location numbers, for No. 2 location was on the site of "Ada Villa" and No. 4 location was on the site of Government House. Sir Walter Buchanan not unreasonably treated these numbers as indicating the existence of houses at the sites indicated and attributed Nos. 2 and 3 to a Mr. Yule (as in the Gazetteer index), supposing him to have had two houses on this ridge. As has been stated, the original "No. 3" does not appear in the Gazetteer's reproduction, and "No. 2" was the South-East summit of Birch Hill, regarding which it can only be said that the writer knows of no evidence to show that a house ever existed there. It is difficult to believe that so accurate an observer as Colonel Irvine shows himself to have been would not have noted them if there had actually been houses between Lieutenant Montgomery's and Prospect Hill. As regards the "Mr. H. Torrens" who owned the house on "Prospect Hill" in 1841, there were three gentlemen of the name in the Civil List for 1841. The most senior (No. 159 in the list) was Mr. R. Torrens, Magistrate of the 24 Pergunnahs. The occupier of "Prospect Hill" was probably the second,—No. 252 Mr. H. W. Torrens,—who in 1841 was in his twelfth year of service and was Secretary to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, on a monthly salary of Rs. 2333-5-4.

The third building along the ridge of Birch Hill in 1841 was the Darjeeling Hotel of which Dr. Hooker in 1848, and others after him, formed so unfavourable an impression. From all three maps (the Gazetteer, Colonel Irvine's

and Captain Sherwill's) it appears as a long narrow building situated on the flat space which is now the Government House "cricket ground". Sir Walter Buchanan, having in mind, perhaps, the name "Wilson's busti"—which, after all, may have referred merely to outhouses and servants' quarters,—places the hotel below the level of the ridge,—in fact "below the present Durbar Hall",—and adds that "the houses are now used as the offices of the local Public Works Department". If the latter reference in the article of 1908 is to the building known as "Woodbine", a house of that name and on the existing site will be found on Sherwill's map of 1851, where the Hotel is separately marked and plainly shown to have been on the ridge itself. But the picture of "Darjeeling in 1852" reproduced by Sir Walter to illustrate his article and also Colonel Irvine's picture of 1841 both plainly show the hotel as standing on the crest of the ridge, and Colonel Irvine's plan bears this out by showing, just to the South-East of the hotel, the little knoll on which the Government House Cricket Pavilion now stands,—a knoll which appears in Sherwill's map as "Lochinvar" but does not appear to have had a house on it even as late as 1851.

The Birch Hill Road (the "Station Road" of those days) had dropped below the crest of the ridge at this point, and the hotel was reached by a side road corresponding very nearly to the Richmond Hill Road of today. The hotel, as we learn from the Gazetteer of 1841, was the property of Mr. S. Smith, for whom it had been built by Messrs. Hepper and Martin. Mr. Smith let it to Messrs. D. Wilson and Co. of Calcutta (then the owners of what is now the Great Eastern Hotel there) for whom it was managed by a Mr. Warman. Of him the Gazetteer says "he gives satisfaction as far as personal attention and civil demeanour go". Mr. Warman lived in the Gazetteer map's "No. 7", which cannot now be traced but was presumably near the hotel. The hotel was opened on the 31st March 1840 (a year later than the date in the "estimate"!) "when twelve sat down to dinner" and "two good fires kept the temperature at 65°" in the two "very spacious" public rooms.

Just North of the Hotel Colonel Irvine has marked on his map a very prominent knoll. This was "No. 5" of the Gazetteer map,—"Primrose Hill", a site which belonged to Mr. Martin. It was vacant in 1841 but there were houses on it in 1851. These have since been cleared away and the ground, which is immediately below "Richmond Hill", is used as a playing field by the girls of the St. Michael's (Diocesan) School.

Between the Hotel and the site occupied by the main building of Government House neither Gazetteer map nor Colonel Irvine's shows any house. On the North-East corner of the ground occupied by the present Government House building stood a house called "Solitaire". The Gazetteer map has three small buildings crowded together on this site and the index shows "No. 9 Mr. Hepper. Solitaire". By October 1841 the site of Solitaire had passed into the hands of a Mr. Turton—Colonel Irvine's map shows it as "No. 7, Mr. Turton's location". This map apparently marks one house only on this site, but Colonel Irvine's sign of a single house was probably a conventional sign for a homestead, as he nowhere shows more than one building on a single site. Captain Sherwill shows a large house and three huts on this site in 1851.

Sir Walter Buchanan, who in his article gives something of the history of this Mr. Turton (afterwards Sir Thomas Edward Turton, Bart.,) and his tribulations in the Civil Jail, thought that Solitaire was on the site of the present "Rivers Hill". In Colonel Irvine's map no house is shown on the latter site: nor does Captain Sherwill's map show any house there, but the latter map shows beyond dispute that the house called Solitaire was on the site of the present Government House.

Along with No. 7, "Solitaire", Mr. Turton also had "No. 8", which appears as "Halliday Hall" on Sherwill's map of ten years later. This house stood within the area now covered by Government House grounds, in the corner between the main gate and "Hermitage". It appears as No. 11 in the Gazetteer map and was mistakenly believed by Sir Walter Buchanan to be on the site of Government House itself. In the index to the Gazetteer map this site ("Halliday Hall") is shown as belonging to "Mr. Dwarkanauth Tagore". Presumably Mr. Turton acquired it when he took "Solitaire" from Mr. Hepper.

The houses, therefore, within the area now covered by the grounds of Government House, from the cricket ground to the main gate near the Gymkhana Club, numbered only three in 1841,—the Hotel, on the cricket ground: "Solitaire", on the site of Government House itself, and the house later known as "Halliday Hall" near the site of the present main gate. Other locations had however been marked off within this area and some of them had been taken up. A Colonel Caulfield had the location between "Lochinvar" (the hillock over-looking the cricket field) and the site of "Solitaire." It does not appear that there was any house built here even as late as 1851 but the location was shown in Colonel Caulfield's name in the Gazetteer map of 1840 and the north slope of the hill was called "Caulfield Hill" in the map of 1851. Similarly a location on the north side of the ridge, between "Solitaire" and "Halliday Hall" was called "Mr. Storm's location" both in 1841 and in 1851. The Gazetteer index refers to a Mr. Dickens as owner of a site shown as No. 12. This appears from the maps of 1851 to have been the little hillock on which the dogs' graves have since been placed, between Government House Cottage and the Main gate. There was no building there in 1841 but the map of 1851 shows a house and the name "Dickens Hill".

Below "Dickens Hill", on the lower side of the Station Road which then, as now, skirted the grounds of Government House, was a location (No. 13 in the Gazetteer map but not marked in Colonel Irvine's because it had no house) called then and later "Lowland Place". It was a steep location running from Station Road right down to the level of the later Victoria Road. It belonged in 1840 to Mr. Hepper, and Messrs Hepper and Martin are shown, in Colonel Irvine's map, to have had three small houses (shown very distinctly in the picture of 1841) close to but below the Station Road and opposite what is now the Durbar Hall gate of Government House,—Nos. 4, 5 and 6 of Colonel Irvine's map. These were probably in the location numbered 44 and named (in the maps of 1851) "Woodbine". Sir Walter Buchanan has something to say about Messrs. Hepper and Martin in the article quoted, and

Father Hosten, in the Journal for April-June 1930, has brought to light papers illustrative of their early difficulties with their labour. Though the name appears at one entry ("Oak Lodge") in the Gazetteer index as "Messrs. Hepper and Co.", there appear to have been three partners,—Messrs. Hepper, Martin and Tulloch or Tulloh. They were evidently among the more speculative of the pioneers of Darjeeling as we find locations in their name scattered all over Darjeeling and they were almost the only Darjeeling location-holders whose names appear in the Lebong list also where, between them, they held four locations out of twenty-eight in the index to the Gazetteer map. They were the builders of the hotel and of the first "line" of "villas" in Darjeeling, and Mr. Hepper had already in 1839 established a "store" at "Punmaharree" (Pankhabari ?).

House No. 9 on Colonel Irvine's map was on the site of "Erina Lodge" (the name appears in the map of 1851),—just below the Station Road near the present main gate of Government House. It is shown in the index as "Mr. Sandes",—a name not found in the Gazetteer map and index. Next to No. 9, across a small chasm clearly enough marked on the map, was No. 10, "Mr. Bruce's",—already known (*vide* Gazetteer index) as "Caroline Villa".

No. 11 in Colonel Irvine's map is the "cutcherry",—that is to say the original office of Dr. Campbell, the first Superintendent of Darjeeling. It stood on the bank facing what is now the main gate of Government House,—very much where the dressing room and store room of the Gymkhana Club now stand.

Colonel Irvine's "No. 12" ("Dr. Pearson's") was on the site of the present Hermitage. It is curious that though Colonel Irvine's map of 1841 shows both a house and a zig-zag path leading down to it from the "circular road", there is trace neither of path nor of house in the maps of Captain Sherwill ten years later (*vide* "location No. 27, Hermitage"). Dr. Pearson also owned a house ("No. 13" on Colonel Irvine's map) on the site of "Ada Villa",—another name already current in 1851,—and it is interesting to find in the location map book a manuscript note, in Dr. Campbell's own hand-writing and dated 1853, subdividing location No. 2 into two parts, "Ada Villa" and "Snuggery". Dr. Pearson, owner in 1841 of Hermitage and Ada Villa, was another of the pioneers of Darjeeling. There is strong internal evidence to show that he collaborated with Captain Herbert, the Deputy Surveyor General, to supply most of the information about the new hill station which is to be found in the Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer for 1841. In that volume he is spoken of as having been in the station for nearly two years (prior to the middle of 1840, presumably) and he evidently looked after both the "native hospital" (established in 1839) and the health of the troops. The Civil List for 1841 shows that an Assistant Surgeon, A. R. Morton (only commissioned on the 28th September 1839) was "in medical charge of the duties at Darjeeling" (on a salary of Rs. 500) so it may be that "Dr. Pearson" was relieved by Dr. Morton. In his article Sir Walter Buchanan hazards the guess that this "Dr. Pearson" may have been the Dr. J. T. Pearson who, on the 10th February 1841, became Surgeon to the Governor-General (still Lord Auckland). There is, at all events, no other Dr. Pearson in the Civil List for that year.

On the Northern and Eastern sides of the "circular road" (now the Mall) there were no houses, other than "Hermitage", in 1841, but the natural platform on which the drill-hall of the Northern Bengal Mounted Rifles now stands forms a prominent feature of Colonel Irvine's map. By 1851 there was a house on this site,—called "Vale Pleasant".

No. 14 on Colonel Irvine's map is described as "Colonel Lloyd's". It stood where the Victoria Gardens now are and was one of the four private houses shown in the Gazetteer map where it figures under the well-known name of "Mount Pleasant". From the large-scale map of 1851 it is clear that this house had then an ornamental garden laid out between the house itself—which stood near the site of the present band-stand—and the Station Road. The building itself appears in the pictures of 1841 and 1852 as one of the finest houses in Darjeeling and in the latter picture it is almost the only house that has two storeys. It is difficult to understand how Sir Walter Buchanan failed to identify Mount Pleasant in the picture of 1852. The building which is rather difficult to find in that picture is the Superintendent's "cutcherry", but both house and "cutcherry" are easily recognised in the picture accompanying Colonel Irvine's map and anyone who has seen them in the latter picture will have no further difficulty in finding both on the picture of 1852. The owner of Mount Pleasant was, of course, "George W. Aylmer Lloyd C.B., Lieutenant-General in H. M.'s Bengal Army" to whose influence with the Raja of Sikkim (as the tablet in St. Andrew's Church avers) Bengal is indebted for this sanatorium (Darjeeling). As we have already seen, General (then Colonel) Lloyd was making roads in Darjeeling before Dr. Campbell was sent there as Superintendent, and he and his family proved themselves in many ways the friends and benefactors of the station. General Lloyd died at Darjeeling in 1865, at the age of 76.

Immediately below "Mount Pleasant", on the slope now occupied by the Bengal Government Secretariat, the Park Hotel and the Archbishop's House, was the first "public garden" of Darjeeling,—No. 28 in Colonel Irvine's map.

No. 15 in the map is Observatory Hill, shown both in the map and in the picture as still bearing on its summit the ruins of the monastery destroyed, it is said, during a Gurkha raid in days before the cession of Darjeeling to the British. The knoll on which St. Andrew's Church now stands is plainly shown both in Colonel Irvine's and in the Gazetteer map. The latter appends the label "Church", but this was somewhat premature as the original St. Andrew's Church (predecessor of the present building) was not built till 1843-4,—by one Captain Bishop, whose house we shall presently reach as we make our way along Station Road and who was then Commandant of the Sebundy Sappers.

It appears therefore that the only buildings existing on Observatory Hill in 1841 were the "cutcherry", the ruined monastery and "Ada Villa": the hill seems to have been "Government reserved land" at this time and it is possible that Dr. Pearson occupied the site of Ada Villa in his capacity as Government Medical Officer of the station. At the South end of the hill, overlooking the modern Chowrasta, Colonel Irvine shows a small building which is particularised in the Gazetteer map as "Tomb" and so appears in

Captain Sherwill's maps of 1851. Can any reader throw light on this somewhat cryptic reference?

At the Chowrasta itself there stood one house only,—“The Dell”,—No. 16 in Colonel Irvine's map and shown there as “Mr. Clark's”. No house or location is shown here in the Gazetteer map.

Considering the number of houses which now line both sides of Commercial Row and the Auckland Road, it is surprising to find how slowly Darjeeling developed along this promising line of ground. The Gazetteer map shows the whole area almost as far as Minkue (Rose Bank) marked out in locations but many of them were vacant—like much of the “excellent building ground” above on the ridge—and no houses are shown in this map south of the line Bazar-Chowrasta. Even at the time of Sherwill's survey in 1851 there was no house on the upper bank of the Auckland Road until “Salt Hill”,—just short of the present Mount Everest Hotel. In 1841 only two houses are shown on the entire length of this road,—No. 21, in the neighbourhood, apparently, of “Elysee” or “Hawk's Nest”, and No. 23 (about half a mile further on) which it is impossible to attribute with certainty to any present site. The former is shown as belonging to Captain Bishop (of the Sappers) who was destined to build the Church, and the latter (No. 23) to a Mr. Smoult who also had a location at Lebong. Captain Bishop belonged to the 71st N. I., then at Shahjehanpore.

Returning to “Dell Corner” and starting along the Jalapahar Road we find that there were no houses at all along what was evidently the new road to “the Saddle” (Ghoom),—the Calcutta Road of today. Turning however up the older road over Jalapahar we come first to “Dr. Campbell's” (No. 17 on Colonel Irvine's map). This appears on the Gazetteer map as “Dr. Campbell—One Tree”, and the mention of Dr. Campbell's name shows that that map was either made or at least brought up to date before the end of 1840. The site is, of course, that of the present “Campbell Cottage” (a name which had already displaced “one Tree” by the time of Sherwill's survey in 1851) and it is interesting to find that the site of “Campbell Cottage” was Dr. Campbell's first choice,—his larger house at “Beechwood” evidently not being in existence in 1841. Dr. Campbell had been transferred to Darjeeling from Nepal in 1840. He appears in the Civil List of 1841 among the “Political Residents, Commissioners, Agents to Governor General etc.” in an entry “Darjeeling and Sikkim—Alexander Campbell M.D., Superintendent and in political charge”, (salary Rs. 1200), while the entry in the general Medical list (where he figures as “A. Campbell M.D.”) shows that the phrase “in political charge” had reference to “political relations with Sikkim”. He was also postmaster of Darjeeling! Sir Walter Buchanan (who calls him “Archibald” Campbell, by the way) gives further details about him: I am indebted to Sir Walter for the information that Campbell spent the last 22 years of his service as Superintendent of Darjeeling, retiring from that post and from the service of Government in 1862 and dying on the 5th November 1874.

Rockville had no house in 1841 (though there is a house of the name on the present site in 1851) and the next house up the hill was No. 18, “Lieutenant Napier's”,—afterwards Napier of Magdala—who was at this time

Executive Engineer of Darjeeling and was employed in laying out the station. His house was apparently a large one and stood, as the map shows, on the knoll now crowned by the Chevremonts Nos. 1 and 2. No house is shown on this site in the Gazetteer map but the location already bore Lieut. Napier's name. He arrived in Darjeeling, as he himself tells us, in the latter part of 1838, having been hurriedly summoned from Nyacolly (apparently Noakhali) to relieve a Captain Gilmore of the Bengal Engineers, who had been sent up to raise and organise the Sebundy Sappers but had fallen sick.

Just below No. 18 and to the North-West of it lay No. 19,—“Mr. S. Smith's”. Sir Walter Buchanan thought that Mr. Smith's location hereabouts was on the site of the Grand Hotel Rockville. It is pretty clear however from the configuration of the land as shown in Colonel Irvine's map that No. 19 was on a site nearer to Lieut. Napier's and more to the west than Rockville which was due north of Chevremont. In fact the House No. 19 (Mr. S. Smith) of Colonel Irvine's map is on the site which Sherwill in 1851 called “Oak Lodge”. The difficulty however is that the name “Oak Lodge” is applied in the Gazetteer map to a location in Mr. Hepper's name (“Messrs. Hepper and Co.”) situated South-West rather than North-West of Lieut. Napier's house. As apparently no house “Oak Lodge” actually existed at the time the Gazetteer map was made and as even the Gazetteer index shows the location to the North-West of Chevremont as “Mr. S. Smith's”, it is probably safe to assume that, whatever may have been the intention in 1839 or 1840, the name “Oak Lodge” was given to the house on the site North-West of Lieut. Napier's,—in the location of Mr. S. Smith.

The next house on Colonel Irvine's map,—No. 20,—is shown as belonging to a Captain Ellis: it was sited about 120 yards South-West of Lieut. Napier's and may have been on the plot occupied by the modern Monteagle Villas. As regards Captain Ellis, the Civil List for 1841 has two Captains of this name. Captain R. R. W. Ellis of the 23rd N. I. was seconded for duty as Assistant to the Resident at Gwalior, and the officer who had a house at Darjeeling was therefore more probably Captain George Ellis, of the Bengal Artillery, who was a Revenue Surveyor and Deputy Collector and is shown as on long leave (from some date not mentioned till 1st Nov. 1842) from his station at “Dibroogarh, Assam”.

The last house on this road was No. 22, “Mr. Maddock's”—afterwards famous as “Herbert Hill” where Brian Hodgson entertained Dr. Hooker. Of this house, on a site now occupied by the house of the Rector of St. Paul's School, Dr. Hooker wrote “The view from his windows is one quite unparalleled for the scenery it embraces”. The name “Herbert Hill” must almost certainly be connected with that Captain Herbert, Deputy Surveyor General, who was deputed in 1830 by the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, to explore the country and who seems to have spent some years in the neighbourhood and to have collaborated with Dr. Pearson in the compilation of the Gazetteer's article of 1840/41. Of “Mr. Maddock” it is fair to assume that he was the “T. H. Maddock Esq.” shown in the 1841 Civil List as combining the posts of Secretary to the Government of India in the “Secret, Political, Revenue and Judicial Departments” and Secretary for

Bengal in the "Secret and Political" Departments. His junior in the former post was F. J. Halliday—later to be the first Lieutenant Governor of the Lower Provinces of Bengal.

Only four more buildings remain to be mentioned,—those served by the road from Mount Pleasant (now the Victoria Gardens) to the Bazar. The first of these on the way down was the hospital,—No. 26 on the map. The hospital,—which appears also in Colonel Irvine's picture, peeping out from among thick woods,—was established by Government in 1839 and was situated in the same quarter of the town as the present hospital. It was reached from the main Mount Pleasant Road by a path corresponding more or less with the present Balenville Road. In the map of 1851 the hospital—quite a small building—appears to be on the site occupied by the new hospital building opened by the Hon. Lady Jackson this year rather than on the site of the old Victoria Hospital, but accurate measurement is difficult on such small-scale maps. Both the pictures of 1841 and 1852 and also the maps show that the hospital was certainly not, as Sir Walter Buchanan thought, "on the east side of the hill now topped by the Eden Sanitarium."

No other buildings are shown on the line of the road itself but at its lower end the road debouches into the bazar (No. 27),—then a matter, apparently, of three buildings on the site of the present market place (the "ground suitable for the bazar" of the Gazetteer map). From the bazar the road doubled back up the knoll on which the Eden Hospital and Sanitarium now stand—then occupied by "25", "Sapper Lines"—and passed straight up its southern face to No. 24 "Sergeant's quarters" on the summit. The latter was higher then than it now is, owing to flattening operations in the 'eighties when the present hospital was built. Prior to that (and by the time of the survey of 1851) the Sergeant's quarters had given place to the Post Office and this in turn gave way to the present hospital which was erected between 1881 and 1883. Of the history of the "Sebundy sappers"—raised by Captain Gilmore in 1839 and reorganised and commanded by Lieut. Napier and subsequently (at the time of our picture and map) by Captain Bishop, the Rev. Father Hosten has given something in "Bengal: Past and Present" for April-June 1930. Their life as a regiment was short and Lord Napier found only pensioners when he revisited Darjeeling in 1872.

"J.D.

Glimpses of the Durga Pooja a Hundred Years ago.

THE Durga Pooja of Bengal is the Dasahra of West and South India. In Bengal it is associated with peace and plenty. In the other parts of India it takes the form of a military festival in commemoration of Rama's conquest of Ceylon. Dasahra marks the close of the rainy season during which all military operations are suspended. The torrential downpours of the tropical rains make all movements impossible. Their effects were felt specially during the olden times when mechanical transport was unknown. The roads became muddy, rivers were swollen, bridges gave way and troops retired to their quarters. Most of them were sent away and the rest simply stood by. The Hindi songs are full of yearnings of the wives and mothers in expectation of the return of some one they loved most. A celebrated Indian artist has truthfully painted the subject. A young woman is standing at the door of her house. The sky is dark with thick layers of cloud lit by a streak of lightning. The outlines of the floating clouds have been joined skillfully to delineate the face of the expected one. She is gazing at this and saying to herself: 'Will he not come back again'. Such then was the significance of the rainy season. The close of the rainy season was the time for the assembling of troops for parade, inspection and preparation for active service.

Dasahra is the most important national festival of the Hindus of India. The whole country celebrates it with social fervour or religious enthusiasm. The Mughal Emperors gave it their royal blessing, and, to the last of their line, they themselves participated in these celebrations. Naturally these festivities were shorn of much of their former pomp and pageantry the last days of Mughal rule. The *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, a Persian weekly of the good old days, affords us a glimpse of how the Pooja was celebrated at the Court of Delhi in 1825. "On the day of Dasahra the Chiefs and Nobles were admitted to the *Dewan-i-Khas* where each sat in his proper place. His Majesty (Akbar II son of Shah Alam) put on skin gloves. He then placed a falcon on his thumb according to the established custom. The son of Mohan, the falcon-keeper, and Ali Naqi Khan freed over his head one cage of birds and two jays respectively. Raja Kedarnath offered the *nazr* of the season. The money accompanying the *nazrs* was sent to Mumtaz Mahal Begum and the Crown Prince. All the Chiefs offered their Dasahra *nazrs*. His Majesty bestowed a three-piece robe of honour on Ghulam Dastgir, Superintendent of the Aviary and two pieces each on Mohan's son and Nur Muhammad, the falconer. Four red-legged partridges were sent to Mr. Metcalfe (the Resident). At the same time the Keeper of the Royal Stable presented a trayful of *pan*

and *batasa* (the latter being a common Indian sweetmeat). A gold mohur was given as a reward to the keeper and a sum of Rs. 50/- to his subordinates."

The following account is given of the Pooja celebrations at Lucknow. "His Majesty witnessed the Ram Lila and gave a reward of Rs. 100/- and desired to see the performance again on the following day. Accordingly entertainers of every class assembled on the other side of the Goomti opposite Mubarak Manzil. The officials of the Royal Establishment drew up in regular order, the horses and elephants richly caparisoned. Issari Das managed the whole show. A fire-work display was given. Everybody present received presents, according to his luck. Issari Das got a thousand rupees for the expenses of a public feast for the poor."

Interesting details of the military and religious observations are given in the report from Jaipur. "The Superintendent of Household was ordered to keep the cavalcade ready and well-appointed with *Mahi Maratib* (figure of a fish with other insignia which was conferred by the Mughal Emperors on the Nobles of the highest order only and was carried as an ensign) and other requisites. Then the worship of the horses was performed with the concurrence and aid of the *Sants* and the *Mahants*. The grooms received a rupee each and a packet of *laddu*. The Maharaja marched to Bhim Nivas accompanied by the Resident and there he offered Poojah to the elephants, horses *palkis* and arms. He offered *attar* and *pan* to the Resident Sahib who then went away. The Maharaja rode to the Bijai Bagh and after visiting the fair, worshipping the *Kajhra* tree and taking some of the sacred offerings returned to the Palace."

The following is the account of how the festival was celebrated by Sindhia. "When he (Sindhia) had finished his poojah of the arms, horses and elephants, he was presented with trays of sweets by Bala Bai and Appa Sahib. He put eleven *ashrafs* (gold mohurs) in each of the trays and dismissed the servants who had brought them. He sent five parcels of cloths with one piece of jewellery to the Resident. Bhindu Rao and other officers were given robes of honour. At dusk, he rode an elephant and went to see the Ram Lila. Near the *nullah* of Bairam Shah the troops who were drawn up fired salutes. After seeing the Ram Lila he threw a quantity of sugar-cane to be scrambled for by the crowd and gave Rs. 50/- as a reward to the organiser.

The celebrations at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikh Ruler of Lahore, were more convivial and more lavish. "On the occasion of the Dasahra after worshipping the arms, horses and elephants he took his seat in the *kachahri*. The salute was fired. The officials and the *vakil*s offered presents and were given robes of honour. The French Officers of the camp received two baskets of fruits of the season and twelve bottles of wine each; the other officers got only one basket of fruits and one bottle of wine. Fifty bottles were distributed amongst the *Akalis*. In the evening he went to the tank of Tarn Tarun and when he returned to his camp he threw money with both hands among the huge crowd of spectators who had assembled there to witness the *tamasha*. After seeing the performance of the dancers he gave one *doshala* (shawl) to each girl and then retired for rest."

These are but brief and hasty press reports from the newspapers of the time but they need to be preserved as the old scenes have vanished with the old actors. Memory itself is fast fading away. "Old times are changed old manners gone."

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

Our Library Table.

Malabar and the Dutch : By K. M. Panikkar, with foreword by Sir Evan Cotton. pp. XXII 188. Bombay (Taraporevala) 1931.

The political structure of Kerala (or "Malabar" as Mr. Panikkar calls it, stretching the term to cover the States of Travancore and Cochin, as well as the British district of that name) was almost obliterated by two great conquerors of the eighteenth century. For hundreds of years the Malayali nation had been split into a multitude of warring principalities. The first move towards unity came from the south, when Martandavarma, ruler of the Tamil kingdom of Travancore, after a period of appalling chaos, set his house in order and proceeded to smash in detail the states that lay between his ancestral territory and the borders of Cochin. He died in 1758, leaving an able successor to consolidate what he had won.

Five years later (1763) Haidar Ali of Mysore annexed the Kanarese Kingdom of Bednur, and with it the northern gates of Kerala. For the next three years Haidar was busy elsewhere. Then, in 1766, he wiped out the chieftaincies of northern Kerala and made it a Kanarese province.

Cochin alone survived this double deluge. The Cochin Raja became an ally and protégé of the Portuguese in 1500 A.D., and Cochin remained the headquarters of Portuguese administration in Kerala till 1663, when it fell to the Dutch. The Dutch held Cochin till 1795, when they surrendered it to the English. Though the decline and fall of the Dutch power during these 132 years is nominally Mr. Panikkar's theme, his real interest, as the sub-title indicates, is the extinction of Mayar feudalism.

Mr. Panikkar, like all good historians, writes with bias. He praises the Dutch and decries the Portuguese ; he regards the Zamorins with admiration, the Cochin Rajas with contempt ; while Martandavarma he brands as a foreigner who crushed the Nayar nobility with Tamil mercenaries, and even thought of calling in Haidar Ali to help him. But these predilections do not mislead. On Mr. Panikkar's own showing, Martandavarma is the hero of the epic, the soldier-statesman who welded the jarring factions of southern Kerala into a strong harmonious state. The Zamorins, on the other hand, so far from appearing as the "historic leaders" of Malabar, were the hereditary foes of most of their neighbours ; they had not share in the traditional partition of Kerala except a sword and the will to use it for their own aggrandisement.

As for the Dutch, their record, as set forth in these pages, is anything but bright. They took over as a going concern the commercial and political system which the Portuguese had built up out of nothing ; the structure crumbled in their hands. As soldiers they never displayed the initiative and heroism of the Portuguese, though the forces they employed were larger. As

for statesmanship, they seemed incapable of a settled policy or a prompt decision, and in their endless meddling in local politics they usually backed the wrong horse or let their best friends down. Culturally the influence of the Dutch in Malabar was, Mr. Panikkar admits, completely sterile ; economically, on the facts adduced by him, it was very slight, his eulogies notwithstanding.

Into the causes of Dutch failure Mr. Panikkar does not go deeply. The effect of English rivalry he somewhat overrates. He notes that Dutch Malabar was but an outpost of an administration centred in Batavia, held for one special purpose (a monopoly of the pepper trade), and costly to maintain, but he makes little of the clumsy bureaucratic machinery which hampered its activities, and says nothing of the plutocrats at home whose blunders reduced the United Netherlands to impotence. There was nothing "democratic" in Dutch methods in those days.

Mr. Panikkar's chronology is confused, and his dates are often wrong : thus on p. 20, "1774", and on p. 29 "1592" are absurd ; the "treaty of 1727" (p. 78) and the "treaty of 1719" (p. 87) are nowhere traceable ; there was no "Moghul Governor" at Trichinopoly in 1726 (p. 60) (the Nayaka dynasty still held sway there) ; it was in 1763 (not 1762) that Haidar Ali conquered Bednur (p. 97). Mr. Panikkar's spelling of Indian proper names is antique, and inconsistent ; e.g., "Procaud" and "Purakkad" (both on p. 18), "Thengapattanam" (p. 133) and "Tengapatanam". Nor is he happier with Dutch or French ; e.g., "Angelbeak" (p. xx) and "Anglebeck" (p. 187), both wrong ; and "sun letat" for "*sur l'état*" (p. xx). There is no index. The references are defective, the bibliography full of mistakes. The chapters on Policy and Administration are vague, and replete with redundancies. In short, unlike Sir Evan Cotton's careful and concise "Foreword", Mr. Panikkar's sketch is far from scholarly, but it is well written, interesting to read, and throws light on many byways of baronial Malabar.

F. J. R.



THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE HYDE.

From the Engraving by W. Sharpe of the Portrait by Robert Home.
(Photographed by Major T. Sutton.)

The Editor's Note Book.

WE reproduce on the opposite page, from a photograph kindly taken by Major T. Sutton, the engraving made in 1814 by W. Sharpe of Robert Home's portrait of Mr. Justice Hyde. The engraving of which a copy has just been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall, is not often met with, and the location of the picture is not known. Mr. Justice Hyde, as every one knows, took his seat on October 22, 1774, as one of the first puisne judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, and after more than twenty-one years of uninterrupted service died in Calcutta on July 8, 1796, at the age of 59. As Robert Home arrived in Calcutta from Madras on June 4, 1795, his portrait of Hyde was probably one of the earliest painted by him in Bengal. Home also painted the portrait of Sir Robert Chambers which hangs in the Judges' Library: but this was executed shortly before Chamber sailed for Europe in August 1799. From a record in Robert Home's handwriting of the portraits painted by him, which is preserved at the National Portrait Gallery in London, it has been ascertained that Mr. Justice Hyde sat to Home for a half length portrait in September 1795, and that the sum of Rs. 1,000 was paid by the Judge to the painter on November 7, 1795.

IN a recent issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XLI. p. 185) it was pointed out that another John Hyde, who resigned his commission as ensign on November 7, 1785, was appointed on the same day Master and Accountant General of the Supreme Court in succession to William Chambers. He was also keeper of the Records and Prothonotary until March 19, 1799. In the East India kalendar for 1808, a certain John Hyde is entered in the list of European inhabitants as a resident of Serampore: and one "John Hyde Esq." died at Calcutta on May 11, 1817. All these are possibly the same individual. There is also a John Hyde buried in the Berhampore (Murshidabad) cemetery. But he died on April 24, 1825, at the age of 45: and the inscription on the tomb tells us that he was a man of Manchester, "whom a genuine love of knowledge and information induced to leave his native land and the enjoyment of affluence to prosecute his researches in the holy land, Syria, and Arabia", and that "after numerous difficulties in the attainment of his purpose, which was attended with the success his zeal deserved, he reached India overland and was on his way to Calcutta to embark for England after an absence of several years", when he died at Berhampore. The monument was erected by an anonymous friend.

THE appointment of Khan Bahadur Captain Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan, the senior member of the Punjab Executive Council, to act as Governor of the Province, during the absence on leave of Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, is extremely interesting from a historical point of view. Karam Khan, the grandfather of the acting Governor, served under John Nicholson in 1848 and raised a large force for the defence of the Margala Pass. Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan, his father, joined Sir James Abbott with recruits towards the end of the Sikh war. In 1857 he raised an Afridi contingent and was aide-de-camp to Nicholson with the Punjab mobile column. He twice saved Nicholson's life at the siege of Delhi, and made a gallant attempt to intercept the shot which killed him. During Nicholson's last hours he nursed him devotedly, and is supposed to have then received from him a letter written or signed with his blood commending the Sardar and his family to the British Government and people. The Sardar was granted the titles of Khan Bahadur and Nawab and was appointed a C.S.I. ; he died in 1901. His son, Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan, was born in 1892 and educated at University College, London. He served in the Army throughout the war, and represented the Punjab landholders on the Legislative Council before his appointment to the Executive Council. We are indebted to *The Times* for these details. There is not a word about Nicholson's faithful aide-de-camp in the histories of the Mutiny by Sir George Fowest and Mr. T. Rice Holmes.

AN INTERESTING collection of autographs of Anglo-Indian celebrities has been presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by Miss Margaret Laurence of Eastbourne, the daughter of the late Mr. G. H. Laurence, B.C.S. The signatures include those of Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, John Nicholson, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta, Sir Richmond Shakespear, Sir Herbert Edwardes, James Thomason, Sir Henry Marion Durand, Lord Elphinstone (Governor of Madras from 1837 to 1842 and of Bombay from 1853 to 1860), Sir William Mansfield (the first Lord Sandhurst who was chief of the staff to Sir Colin Campbell and later on Commander-in-Chief in India), Lord Gough (the victor of Moodkee, Ferozeshahr and Sobraon), Sir Joseph Thackwell (who commanded the cavalry at Chillianwallah and Gujrat), Sir Harry Lumsden (the founder of the Guides who was assistant to Henry Laurence at Lahore in 1846), Lord Metcalfe, Sir George Frederick Edmonstone (Lieut.-Governor of the N.W.P. from 1859 to 1863) and Sir George Russell Clark (Governor of Bombay in 1847-1848 and again from 1860 to 1862). There is also a slip of paper bearing the words "Votre très dévoué Serviteur, Ventura." This is the famous Jean Baptiste Ventura, who after campaigning under Napoleon at Wagram and Waterloo and in Russia, entered the service of Ranjit Singh in 1822. It has been said, on the authority of the missionary Wolff (who was of Hebrew origin) that he was a Jew and that his real name was Reuben Ben Toora : but the fact is that

he was an Italian from Modena. His house at Lahore which was the tomb of Anarkali, the cruelly murdered favourite of Akbar, is now the Punjab Record-room.

MR. G. H. LAWRENCE (1822-1895), who was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1852 to 1877, was a son of Lieut.-Gen. Sir George St. Patrick Laurence (1804-1884), the elder brother of Henry and John Laurence, who was A.G.G. in Rajputana during the Mutiny. He was one of the Lucknow Garrison and was in the upper room of the Residency with his uncle Henry Laurence when the latter was fatally wounded. His son, Sir Henry Staveley Lawrence, K.C.S.I., entered the Bombay Civil Service in 1890 and retired in 1926 upon completion of his term of office as Member of Council. There is a close connexion between these Laurences and the family of Sir Elijah Impey. When John Laurence was Viceroy, his military secretary from 1863 to 1864 was Colonel Eugene Clutterbuck Impey, C.I.E. (1830-1904), the son of Edward Impey (1785-1858) who was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1801 to 1822, and who was a son of the Chief Justice. Through his mother Julie de l'Étang (1791-1866) Colonel Impey was the nephew of James Pattle (1776-1845) the father of the famous Miss Pattle, who married his sister Adeline de l'Étang (1793-1845), and who is commemorated by a monument in St. John's Church. He was subsequently Resident at Udaipur, Gwalior, and Khatmandu and retired in 1878. He had an elder brother Elijah Pattle Impey (1815-1837) who died of small pox at Kasur at the age of 22 when an ensign in the 18th Bengal Infantry: and a son Colonel Laurence Impey, C.S.I. (b. 1862) followed him in the Political Department and was Resident at Baroda. Another brother of Colonel Eugene Impey was Major Hastings Broughton Impey, the first Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur who died there on December 14, 1863: his wife, who is buried beside him, died three days before him.

IN his "Guide to Lucknow", the late Mr. E. H. Hilton who was one of the Martinierè boys who shared in the siege of the Residency, and who died on December 19, 1922, at the age of 82, mentions that the Begum Kothi, which occupied the centre of the Residency enclosure, had been the residence of "Mrs. Walters, her elder daughter, and only son." In an article in the *Statesman* of June 26, Capt. Bullock has explained who this Mrs. Walters was. Her husband, George Hopkins Walters, is stated by Sleeman in his *Journey Through the Kingdom of Oudh*, to have been "an officer on half pay in a British dragon regiment": and Capt. Bullock has ascertained from the old army lists that in 1802 he was a lieutenant in the 13th Light Dragons and that his name appears as late as 1824 as being on half pay of the 11th Light Dragoons. He found his way to Lucknow and there married the widow of

The King of Oudh's European wife.

an English merchant. His younger daughter was married in 1827 to King Nasir-ud-din Hyder under the name of Makhaddar-i-Ulaiya. Fanny Parks gives the following account of her (Vol. I, p. 88):

“The other newly-made Queen is nearly European but not a whit fairer than Taj Mahal [another of the begums]. She is, in my opinion, plain: but by the Indian ladies she is considered very handsome. She was the king’s favourite before he saw Taj Mehal. She is the daughter of a European merchant, and is accomplished for the inhabitant of a zenana, as she writes and speaks Persian fluently, as well as Hindustanee. It is said that she is teaching the king English, though, when we spoke to her in English, she said she had forgotten it.”

Nasir-ud-din died in 1837, and the begum survived him for three years. Her elder sister who was known as Ashraf-un-nissa Begum, was still alive at the time of the siege and (according to Hilton) furnished information to Colonel Bruce, Deputy Quartermaster-General and afterwards Inspector-General of Police in Oudh, regarding the state of affairs in Lucknow.

IN a letter which appeared in the *Sunday Times* of August 7. Brigadier-General C. G. Higgins writes: “So far as I am aware, it has never been in dispute that the 52nd Light Infantry (now the 2nd Battalion Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry) were the originators of Khaki clothings as a service dress. This was introduced during the Indian Mutiny in 1857 by their commanding officer, Colonel Campbell who subsequently led the third column at the storm of the Cashmere Gate. In a letter written by Colonel Campbell, in 1859, in reply to an enquiry on this subject by the editor of the *Historical Record* of the 52nd L.I., he states that he was the first to introduce the colour for European troops. He goes on to say:

The origin of Khaki as a Uniform.

“I had a suit per man of the white clothing dyed at Sealkote immediately after I arrived there from Lucknow, and we marched out of that place to join the Punjab Movable Column in it. My reason at the time for adopting it was the ulterior view of the diminishing the Indian Kit on account of the difficulty of getting the white trousers and jackets washed quickly. The men were obliged to have five pairs of trousers, whether with the karka (sic) two were sufficient. Moreover I thought it would be a good colour for service.”

The same idea occurred, however, in the same year (1857) to the men of the 32nd Regiment (the 1st battalion Duke of Cornwall’s Light Infantry), who so gallantly defended the Lucknow Residency. Martin Gubbins, who was one of the garrison, describes in his *Mutinies in Oudh* (p. 496) how the soldiers dyed their uniforms a light brown or dust-colour with a mixture of black and red office inks.

ANOTHER instance of the use of khaki uniform during the Mutiny may be found in R. H. Wallace Dunlop's *Service and Adventure with the Khakee Ressalah* (Bentley, London: 1858). Dunlop The "Khakee Ressalah." was a member of the Civil Service who was placed in charge of the Meerut district after the outbreak there. In that capacity he raised the Meerut Volunteer Horse which restored order. He writes (p. 55): "I entered on the duty of recruiting-sergeant for a body of volunteers, to be called, after Daly's Gallant Horsemen. The Guides, whom I had seen in Delhi, "The Khakee Ressalah", their dress being a complete dust-coloured suit, which gave them a most sombre but workmanlike appearance." Within three days a troop of Englishmen, East Indians, and a few Sikhs, were fit for duty.

THE second-in-command is described by Dunlop (p. 63) as "a good specimen of the genuine English gentleman, quiet and retiring in ordinary intercourse, an accomplished draughtsman and a polished writer, but recklessly forward in danger, with a slight and almost feeble frame, but an ardent spirit which knew no fear. He was admirably qualified to conciliate his cavalier following in quarters and to lead the wildest charge in mortal fray." The subject of this eulogy was chaptain Charles Walters D'oily (1822-1900) who succeeded his father, the younger Sir John Hadley D'oyley, as ninth Baronet in 1869, and whose mother was Charlotte Thompson, the daughter of George Nesbit Thompson, Warren Hasting's secretary and faithful friend. He is the Major-General Sir Charles D'oily who contributed the illustrations to Sir Hunter's *Old Missionary*. As a young man he had been aide-de-camp to Lord Dalhousie, who shortly before leaving India gave him the choice between an appointment in the Secretariat and one in the Government Stud Department. He chose the latter and when the Mutiny broke out was in charge of the Stud at Hapur. The approach of the Bareilly bridge obliged him to escape to Meerut with his wife, a daughter of Major George Nott of the Madras Army, who died as the result of exposure. His second wife, whom he married in 1867, died as recently as 1914.

THE death was announced on May 22 at Barlowganj, Mussoorie, of Colonel Stanley E. Skinner, the grandson of the famous James Skinner (1778-1841), "Sekunder Sahib", whose name is perpetuated by the First Regiment of Indian Cavalry. James Skinner was the son of captain Hercules Skinner, of the Company's service, and a Rajput lady, and entered the Mahratta service. In 1803 he joined Lord Lake with his regiment of irregular horse, and received large grants of land in the Karnal and Hissar districts. The estate was divided in 1885 on the death of his son Alexander Skinner, but Col. Stanley Skinner

Anne Becher on October 13, 1810, and their son William Makepeace Thackeray was born on July 18, 1811.

WILLIAM DANIELL in his journal makes use of a word "chesebust" which we have not come across in contemporary books about India, and which is not to be found in Yule and Burnell's "Chesebust." Anglo-Indian Glossary (Hobson Jobson). The meaning is clearly indicated by the context thus :

November 20, 1789.—Sent off a Patilla [from Benares] with Chesebust, that was hired, to Jianpore [Jaunpur].

The *patilla*, or *patela*, is described by Colesworthy Grant in his *Rural Life in Bengal* (1860: p. 6) as "the Baggage-boat of Hindostan, a very large flat-bottomed, clinker-built, unwieldy-looking piece of rusticity of probably . . . about 35 tons burthen, but occasionally they may be met with double this size". The word "chesebust" is of course a combination of *chiz*, "thing", and *bast*, which is familiar to us in the form of *bundobust* (literally "tying and binding").

BY Letters Patent issued in 1667 King Charles the Second permitted the East India Company to coin "rupees, annas, and budjrooks" at Bombay. "Budjrooks." What was a "budjrook"? Although the coin was never current in Bengal, the word is occasionally found in early books of travel: and it may be useful to attempt elucidation. The "budjrook" was the Portuguese *bazarucco*, the name given to a coin of low denomination, formerly in use at Goa and other places in Western India. Linschoten (1598) says that two of them were "as much as a Dutchman's doit", and that the coin is "molten money of badde time." Fryer (1672), writing of the currency in Malabar, asserts that twenty "buserooks" were equal to one fanam. As 42 fanams went to one star pagoda, a fanam (as used in Madras until 1818) was worth about two pence.

THE corresponding coin of low denomination in Bengal is the dam, the origin of the phrase "I don't care a dam", which the Duke of Wellington is said to have popularized. It is curious that Akbar's "I don't care a dam." currency should have been registered in lakhs of dams. According to the *Calcutta Glossary*, quoted in "Hobson Jobson", the dam in Bengal is reckoned at 20 to an anna, or 320 to a rupee. As regards the phrase, Sir Henry Taylor says in his autobiography that the form usually employed by the Duke was "a two penny damn"; and the *New English Dictionary* dismisses the Indian derivation as "ingenious but without basis in fact."

MAJOR HODSON writes: "On re-reading *Hartly House* (Thacker Spink and Co., reprint of 1908), it struck me that the incident mentioned on pp. 278-279 may help in determining the approximate date at which the author left India—namely, in 1787. 'I have', he (or she) writes, 'within the passing hour seen one of these wretches conveyed to prison . . . He is an officer in the army.' An account is then given of an attempt to abduct 'an old man's daughter', which resulted in the shooting of the father. The incident must surely refer to the case of Lieut. John Hubert Valentia Dubois. The wife of Capt. Thomas Whinyates, writing from Fatehgarh on January 11, 1787, says: 'Valentia de Bois, son of Lady Dorothy, a lieutenant in this service, is now in irons, and was to have been tried some days since for shooting a black man. Whose wife he was carrying off, but the trial has been deferred until next sessions.' I have never yet come across any mention of the trial of Dubois: but he certainly continued in the Company's service, for he was promoted to the rank of Captain on June 10, 1796, took furlough on May 11, 1797, retired on March 19, 1800, and died in 1826. "Lady Dorothy" was the daughter of Richard Annesley, sixth earl of Anglesey, who married Peter Dubois, a French musician. The quotation from Mrs. Whinyates' letter is taken from the Whinyates Family Records."

A GOLDEN "Victoria Cross", with an Indian history, is on view at the Royal United Service Museum in Whitehall. It was subscribed for in 1869 by the officers of the 104th Bengal Fusiliers (the 2nd Bengal Europeans), in appreciation of the devotion shown by Mrs. Webber Harris during an epidemic of cholera which attacked the regiment: and it was presented to her by Sir Sam Browne V.C., who was commanding at Peshawar at the time. Women (it may be added) have been eligible for the Victoria Cross since 1920.

THE oldest survivor of the Mutiny has been discovered by Capt. Russell Steele who states, in a letter to the *Morning Post* of August 13 that a certain Patrick Scully is now living at Quilty, Milltown Malbay in County Clare in the Irish Free State. He was born on March 17, 1824—108 years ago—and served in the 2nd Bengal Europeans (104 in Regiment) for ten year, when he was discharged on account of sunstroke!

SIR RICHARD BURN writes with reference to the note on John Bardoe Elliot which was published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLIII (pp. 53): "Elliot left to the Bodleian Library at Oxford a collection of Indian and Persian seals, which are now

John Bardoe Elliot.

being exhibited at the Indian Institute. He also left a collection of coins, many of which he bought about the year 1849 from Sir Alexander Cunningham. I hope to edit the correspondence in an account of the collection.

A TOMB and a mosque at Tribeni near Satgaon in the Hooghly district, which are stated to be the earliest remains of the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal, are being conserved by the Archæological Survey of India. According to Sir John Marshall, the tomb which is of black stone and goes by the name of Zafar Khan Ghazi, was built largely of materials taken from a temple of Krishna which formerly stood on the spot: and the supposition is strongly supported by the presence of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain images and inscriptions. It is stated that both the tomb and the mosque were erected during the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-din Hussain Shah (1493-1578). The late Sir Alonzo Money, who was Collector of the District about 80 years ago, was the first to notice Hindu remains on the walls of the tomb: and the late Mr. R. D. Banerji called attention at a later date to ten descriptive labels in proto-Bengali character and also to Buddhist and Jain inscriptions. Recent excavations have revealed five more descriptive labels and also five bas-reliefs, of which those representing the battle between Krishna and Arjuna, a horse sacrifice by King Ydithira and the ten incarnations of Vishnu, are in a perfect state of preservation. Four Buddhist images have been found in the mosque and on the square base of a pillar: and also an image of Pareshnath on the back of an Arabic inscription of Ruknuddin Barbak Shah. The gates and doorjambs of the tomb, are profusely decorated in the Orissa style: it is composed of two roofless rooms in which there are eight graves: two of these have been identified as the graves of Zafar Khan Ghazi and his wife.

REGARDING the plan and picture of Darjeeling reproduced at p. 74 of this issue of the Journal a correspondent writes:—

Last autumn, through the kindness of Colonel John Shakespear, Government House, Darjeeling, became possessed of what is probably the earliest picture now in existence of Bengal's hill station.

The picture,—a water-colour sketch some eleven inches long and eight and a half high,—was made from a view-point on the slopes of Jalapahar, probably from just below the site of the house of the Rector of St. Paul's School. It depicts the Birch Hill ridge from below the present "Singamari" to the Chowrasta end of Observatory Hill. Behind, the Chakung, Rinchinpong and Pemionchi ridges are washed in in blue-grey, and in the background appear the snows—in outline, perhaps, not photographically correct but with infinitely less exaggeration and grotesqueness than is usual with mountain landscape of the earlier nineteenth century.

Picture of Darjeeling by
Col. Archibald Irvin.

Round the top and right-hand edges of the picture has been drawn a scale-plan of Darjeeling as it was in October 1841, extending from below the North-West end of Birch Hill, South-Eastwards to Observatory Hill, and thence due South along the Jalapahar ridge to a point just above the site of St. Paul's School. The plan is sketched in colours, with North point and scale of yards (200 yards to an inch), and shows clearly and attractively the general configuration of the station.

Plan and picture present Darjeeling in 1841 as a series of hill-tops, only partially cleared of timber, projecting from dense forests, which clothed their slopes almost to the summit. There are small clearings on the loftier portions of the Birch Hill ridge, each with its own house, and on the flat space now occupied by the Government House "cricket ground" is shown the long low building of the Darjeeling Hotel of which, several years later, Dr. Hooker had some scathing things to say. The whole Observatory Hill area and the site of the present Victoria Gardens are almost cleared of trees, but the only other open space visible in the picture is the southern slope of the conical hill (much higher at that time than it now is, as it was truncated in the 'eighties to make space for the erection of the Eden Sanitarium) which was then the site of the celebrated "sebundy sappers'" lines, shown in the picture with the "sergeant's house" perched above them on the summit. The foreground of the picture successfully conveys the impression of the receding slopes of Jalapahar which, in spite of the felled timber at the artist's feet, appear to have been as heavily wooded up to this point as the other slopes depicted,—the banks below the Chowrasta and the hill-side now covered by the Happy Valley Tea Estate. The whole aspect of the Darjeeling and Sikkim area is thus described in the "Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer" for 1841:—"On whichever side we turn the whole road from Punkabarree, upwards of thirty miles, runs through a forest of the noblest trees, with an almost impenetrable under wood for the entire way: and the same extends over the whole of Sikim (sic) to the Snowy-mountains. To be sure, here and there a Lepcha clearing, and now and then a mountain slip, on the top of a hill cleared by fire, or other accident, is free from trees; but they are hardly distinguishable unless upon the very spot."

Whatever may be the artistic merit of the picture,—a matter on which the writer does not feel qualified to express an opinion,—the general impression produced is soft and pleasing and its interest is undeniable. Darjeeling of those days,—with its twenty-five homesteads,—was a greener place than Darjeeling of to-day, but the main physical features are discernable through the veil of forest, and the picture affords a remarkable contrast to the better-known but infinitely less attractive picture of "Darjeeling in 1852" which also hangs in Government House and which was reproduced in the 1908 number of this Journal. It is good that we should have a picture of Darjeeling not altogether unlike what it must have been when it first attracted the attention of Major Lloyd and Mr. Grant in 1828; for, as the picture of 1852 shows, the deforestation during the intervening years was practically complete (even Birch Hill was almost treeless in 1852), and if something has since been done to repair the ravages of the pioneers, it would still be

difficult to say that a picture of Darjeeling as seen from Jalapahar in this Year of Grace 1932 could be as pleasing to the eye as is this unpretentious little water-colour sketch of ninety-one years ago.

A word must be said about the artist-draftsman. The sketch and plan themselves bear the title "Darjeeling in October 1841". On the mount the donor has added the following sub-title,—"Painted by Colonel Archibald Irvine C.B., Bengal Engineers. Presented by request of his daughter, the late Miss Alice Irvine." Colonel Irvine's record of services is given by Colonel Shakespear in the following terms:—

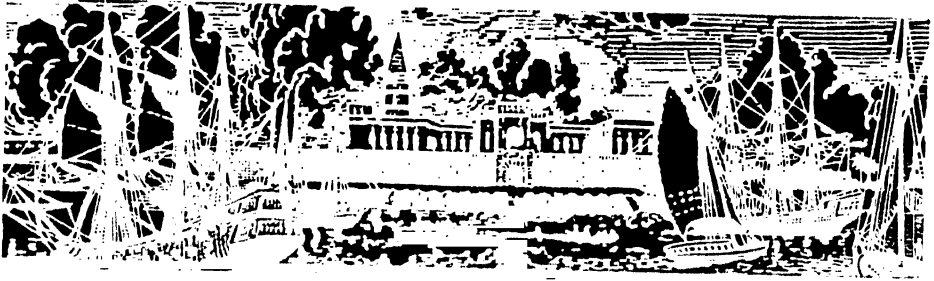
"Archibald Irvine was born in 1797, in the parish of Westerkirk in Eskdale, Scotland. After a course of instruction at Addiscombe and Chatham he landed in Calcutta in 1816, as an Engineer Cadet in the service of the Honourable East India Company."

"In 1825 he was appointed Brigade-Major of the Engineers engaged in the siege of Bhurtpore. Here he made use, for the first time on active service, of the Chatham system of ventilating mine galleries; this contributed largely to the success of the mining operations, which formed breaches in the walls through which the place was stormed. Captain Irvine was twice wounded during the siege, once severely. For his services he received a brevet majority and the C.B."

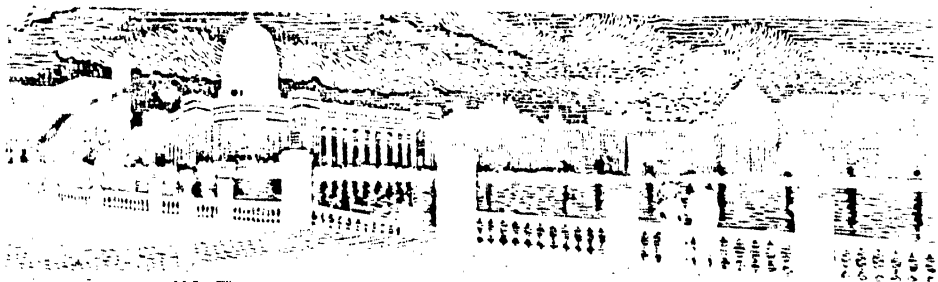
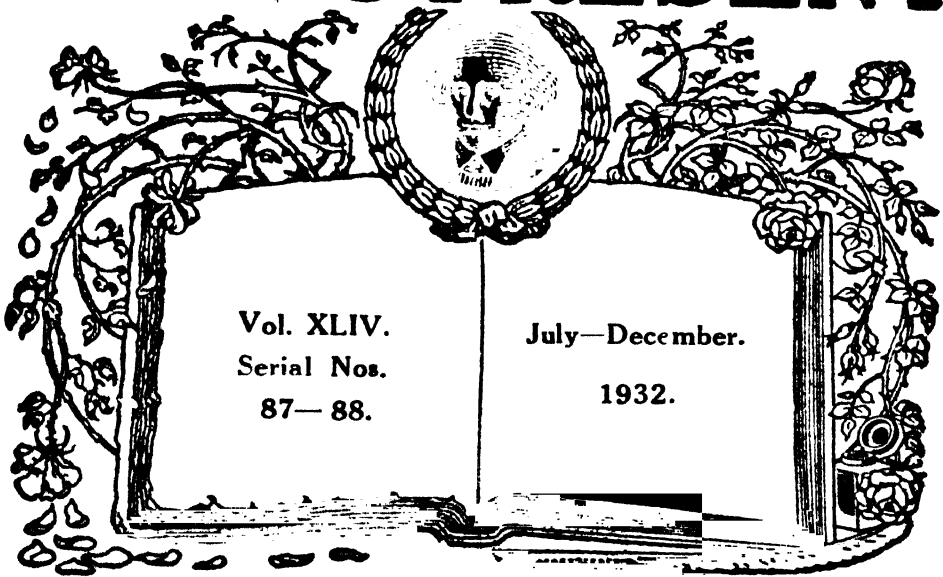
"From March 1835 till September 1843 he held the post of Stipendiary member of the Military Board and in that capacity it became his duty to supervise the laying out of the station of Darjeeling by Lieutenant Napier (later Lord Napier of Magdala), whose house is shown on the plan. During the visits he paid to the place at this period he executed the sketch and plan."

"From September 1843 till he resigned the service in 1846 he held the post of Superintendent of Marine, a post created at that time. Having resigned that post he tendered his services to the Commander-in-Chief and was appointed Chief Engineer to the Army of the Sutlej. He hastened to join his appointment but only reached Headquarters on the eve of the battle of Sobraon "but", to quote the Commander-in-Chief's despatch, "with that generosity which ever accompanies true valour and ability he declined to assume the command in order that all the credit of the work he had begun might attach to Colonel Smith" (R. Baird Smith, Chief Engineer at the siege of Delhi). "For himself he demanded but the opportunity of sharing our perils in the field and he personally accompanied me through the day." When the war was concluded Colonel Irvine proceeded to England and was, four months after his arrival, appointed Director of Works to the Admiralty, a post which he took up in November 1846. In the course of his duties he met his death, in December 1849, which was occasioned by a severe fall during an inspection at Portsmouth."

It remains to be added that the Civil List of 1841 shows Colonel (then Major) Irvine to have been a member of the Government Lottery Committee on which he was in good company as the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta was its President.



BENEFICIAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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WARREN HASTINGS' FAVOURITE PORTRAIT OF HIS WIFE:
From the Painting by J. Zoffany, R.A.
in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

At a Great Price :

AN INCIDENT OF HISTORY.

CHARACTERS.

WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General of India.

MARIAN, (*née* von Chapuset), his wife.

ALEXANDER ELLIOT, (son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto), his private secretary.

PHILIP FRANCIS, Member of Council, his enemy.

M. CHEVALIER, a Swiss, Governor of Chandernagore for the French.

MISS TOUCHET, friend of Mrs. Hastings.

AN AIDE-DE-CAMP.

Guests, Servants, &c.

TIME : Calcutta, 1778.

SCENE I.

(*Mrs. Hastings' dressingroom. Roar of guns without.*)

Enter Mrs. Hastings from verandah.

MRS. H. A *feu de joie* for de capture by surprise of a small unarmed town! Dey haf so little sense of proportion, dese English! Surely dey need not thus rejoice over de misfortunes of de amiable residents of Chandernagore, whose guests dey haf so often been. But at least I have saved you, my beloved friend, and your sweet babes, from being dragged here in triumph, and exposed to de unfeeling comments of de ladies and gentlemen of Calcutta. Forced, alas! to quit de agreeable dwelling where we have passed so many charming hours togeder, yet you are now, I trust, far down de river, escorted by your gallant spouse; and de joy is mine, to haf enabled you to escape. (*Noise without.*) But Hastings returns from Council. Shall I confide to him my secret? Nothing his Marian does is exceptionable in his eyes. But no; I won't embarrass him with a confidence that might hamper him in dealing with his colleagues.

(Enter Hastings.)

HASTINGS. And how does my Marian today? (*raises her hand to his lips.*) I fear the roar of the Fort guns has deprived her of the slumber so necessary to her delicate constitution?

MRS. H. Oh, I am well enough. But you, Hastings, why is your brow so gloomy? Is not dis a day of triumph for Calcutta?

HAST. Why, indeed, my dear, you must understand that you have the misfortune to be married to the most criminal wretch on the face of the earth. The only public disaster of which my enemies have so far scrupled to accuse me is the American revolt, and I am hourly expecting to have that omission rectified by overland packet.

MRS. H. But what new trouble is dere?

HAST. Simply this. Mr. Chevalier has effected his escape, and Francis alleges that I connived at it.

MRS. H. Den dey are all safe!

HAST. Precisely, but not exactly in my Marian's signification of the term. Mr. Chevalier has more confidence in our humanity than she displayed when she wept over their prospective fate t'other day. He abandons his lady and children to our care, while he goes off to stir up the Mahrattas against us.

MRS. H. He has left dem behind?

HAST. Absolutely. When it was decided the place should be seized, Colonel Dow, who had the matter in hand, understanding the extreme importance of securing the person of Mr. Chevalier, surrounded the garden-house at Ghyretty with spies in the darkness, so that nobody could quit it unobserved. In the morning he advanced with his Sepoys, and summoned Mr. Chevalier to surrender. The answer returned was that the gentleman was dressing himself, but would wait upon the Colonel immediately. When he still failed to appear, Dow was about to search the house, but Mrs. Chevalier, with the most anxious air in the world, entreated him not to alarm her children, who were sick, and she would desire her spouse to bestir himself. Grown impatient at last, the Colonel forced his way into the bed-chamber, and thus discovered the evasion. Chevalier must have received warning the night before, and have set off down the river barely an hour before Dow posted his spies round the house.

MRS. H. But is it certain he was warned from here? Why should dey say you did it?

HAST. Francis has received information that Mr. Chevalier was visited before supper by two of the Company's servants, and he declares that to his certain knowledge they conveyed to him a warning—from me, so he alleges.

MRS. H. And you—what said you, Hastings?

HAST. I contradicted him, my dear, but civilly, I trust, and with such a consciousness of rectitude as staggered even the slanderer. I reminded him that my entire credit hung on Chevalier's capture, so that he might not join

the Mahrattas to instruct them in carrying out the French schemes, and I assured him that were the traitor the most confidential member of my own family—were he Elliot himself—he should receive the most exemplary chastisement.

MRS. H. (*wildly.*) But if it was your wife, Hastings—your most unhappy wife?

HAST. (*starting.*) Impossible! My Marian would never so far forget her duty to her husband as to assist his country's enemies.

MRS. H. (*falling at his feet.*) She has, she did! Alas! will Hastings turn away in anger from his poor Marian?

HAST. (*much agitated.*) Marian, assure me that this is untrue—a jest; that you are shielding some other person.

MRS. H. Alas, alas! it is too true. I sent a billet of warning to Mme. Chevalier. And I haf destroyed you!

HAST. You little know the calamity you have brought upon us, Marian. If Chevalier succeeds in reaching Poonah, the entire power of the Mahrattas will be hurled upon each of our settlements in detail, guided by a man versed in the military affairs of Europe. To ensure our more complete destruction, he will unite them with Hyder against us. Heavens! the prospect makes the mind reel. And it is your doing—yours!

MRS. H. Can nothing be done? I will gif my jewels—

Hast. Had you the wealth of Asia at command, it could not avail. Oh, Marian, from Francis and his confederates I expect unkindness, I anticipate treachery, but from you—you to whom I have spoke without reserve, confiding in the discretion I believed to distinguish you above all other females! Is there nobody I can trust?

MRS. H. (*sobbing.*) Hastings, you break my heart.

HAST. (*relenting.*) My Marian, have I spoken harshly? Pardon the bitterness of disappointment. Thank Heaven, whatever happens, I possess you still! (*Raises and embraces her.*)

MRS. H. (*eagerly.*) Dey shall not attribute it to you, Hastings. I will confess it; I will throw myself on de mercy of Mr. Francis.

HAST. Never, my Marian, never! Trust a tiger, trust a cobra, trust a Banyan, but never trust Philip Francis. I am convinced the exact method of the warning is fortunately hidden from him thus far, unless—Is it possible that he can have obtained possession of your *chit*?

MRS. H. Dat would help him little. 'Twas wrote in German, which nobody in de Presidency can read but Mme. Chevalier and I. Besides, I gave her no plain warning, but wrote in such terms as she alone would understand.

HAST. Why, this is better than I had feared, but there must have been treachery on the part of your *hircarra* (1), and Francis will reap the

(1) *Harkara*, messenger or spy.

advantage of it. The matter may slumber for a while, but he won't permit it to drop. And when he raises it again, I must withdraw my denial, and confess that the warning came from me.

MRS. H. But sure 'twas I sent it.

HAST. And is not my Marian myself? Ah, my dear, Mr. Francis will perceive the truth fast enough. He has a weapon to his hand in an old regulation, long fallen into disuse, but never revoked, forbidding the Company's servants, on pain of deprivation of their offices, to marry foreigners. There at last is the instrument by which he may turn me out of the situation he has so long desired to occupy. And that's only the least of the mischief.

MRS. H. And it must come? Dere's no averting it?

HAST. Why, yes, my dear; if you'll pray Heaven that Mr. Chevalier may fall into the hands of some of our agents or allies before he can approach Poonah. Then the harm will be undone.

MRS. H. (*in much excitement.*) But, Hastings—Elliot!

HAST. Well, my dear, what of him? Have you anything to say to him? I desired him to attend me in the anteroom after I had seen you.

MRS. H. (*stamping her foot.*) You are slow, dull! He goes to Berar—to de Mahrattas. He must stop M. Chevalier.

HAST. Gently, my Marian. He cannot start for ten days or a fortnight, and Chevalier will be far in advance. Moreover, he is engaged in a weighty political mission, and not in the pursuit of fugitives.

MRS. H. What does dat signify? (*Goes to the door.*) Mr. Elliot!

(*Enter Elliot.*)

EL. At Mrs. Hastings' service.

MRS. H. Pray, Mr. Elliot, gif me your attention. I need not ask if Mr. Hastings' interest is a matter of moment to you?

EL. Mr. Hastings knows, ma'am, that his interest is mine.

MRS. H. I knew it. Listen den, Elliot. No, Hastings, I will speak in my own way. Elliot, I haf betrayed your master's credit, played into de hands of his enemies, exposed de entire British power in India to disaster. It is yours to retrieve my errors. Led by a feminine credulity, I afforded M. Chevalier de information dat enabled him to escape. You must recapture him.

EL. Heaven send me the chance, ma'am!

MRS. H. Nay, you must make de chance. Think of all dat hangs upon your success—Mr. Hastings' honour, de safety of all de Britons in India. Never look me in de face again if you fail to seize de fugitive.

HAST. No, Marian, you must permit me to speak. Elliot, you know I have the highest confidence in you—a confidence never yet misplaced. Of the inestimable service you would render me by recapturing Mr.

Chevalier, I need not speak; you have heard of it from Mrs. Hastings' lips. But the mission on which you are bound is not the recapture of Mr. Chevalier, but the attachment to our cause of the ruler of Berar. Bear in mind that the one must not be risked for the other, however great the advantage may appear. And bear in mind, most of all, that Hastings with Elliot beside him is still in a situation to command respect, if not success, but that Hastings deprived of Elliot has no single servant on whom he can entirely rely.

EL. Sir, your goodness overwhelms me. If anything could increase my zeal in your service, 'twould be the words you have been good enough to utter. Madam, so far as the matter hangs on Alexander Elliot, it is accomplished. Mr. Chevalier shall be captured, if it's in human power to do it.

SCENE II.

(*Three months later. Diningroom in Hastings' house at Allypore. Dinner in progress. Francis seated beside Mrs. Hastings, Miss Touchet beside Hastings. Various members of the Household.*)

FRAN. (*aside to Mrs. H., with a glance across the table.*) Sure the prospect's an extraordinary agreeable one, ma'am—Jove diverted from brooding over the regulation of the universe by the assiduities of the charming nymph at his side!

MRS. H. (*coldly.*) Mr. Francis an't aware dat Miss Touchet is like a daughter to Mr. Hastings and myself?

FRAN. A daughter, ma'am? A sister—at least to Mrs. Hastings.

MRS. H. I said a daughter, sir.

FRAN. Why, then, ma'am, we must injure the scansion but amend the sense of the poet, and say, '*O filiâ pulchrâ mater pulchrior.*'

MRS. H. (*somewhat mollified.*) Flatterer! But what is it alarms my Miss Touchet?

MISS T. (*to H.*) You'll think me sadly fanciful, dear sir, but I could have sworn I saw two European gentlemen pass along the verandah just now, with their cloaks wrapped about their faces.

HAST. Miss Touchet's word will suffice us; her oath an't needed. But pray, ma'am, what is there alarming in the appearance of two more friends to join our party?

MISS T. Why, really, sir, I hardly dare tell you. Such an idea struck me—the oddest, the most absurd—you'll all die of laughing. I thought I recognised one of the gentlemen in spite of his disguise, and it was—

SERVANT. *Shivalyar Sahib hai.*

HAST. (*rising.*) Mr. Chevalier!—is it possible?

(*Mrs. Hastings quits her place, and joins him. Chevalier advances bowing, and holds out the hilt of his sword.*)

CHEV. It is I, indeed, sir. I come to surrender myself your prisoner, driven by no force but honour. Permit me to felicitate you upon the possession of such a follower as Mr. Elliot—the youthful, the incomparable Elliot. Will it be believed that the young gentleman, in the course of the mission on which you, sir, had despatched him, heard of M. Law and myself in the vicinity of Cuttack, and regardless of the unhealthiness of the season, and his own sickness, pursued us with the utmost resolution, finally swimming the river lest we should escape him? Having obtained the support of the Naib, he declared us his prisoners, but found himself confronted with a difficulty. He could not well conduct us with him on his journey into Berar; he had no force to send back with us to Calcutta. I perceived his dilemma; I compassionated, I admired him. The solution was found; I gave my word of honour to repair immediately to Calcutta, unescorted, and to surrender myself to you—

FRAN. (*aside.*) Trust the Frenchman to know when the game was no longer profitable!! Travelling in the rains through a hostile territory an't the most agreeable pastime in the world.

CHEV. I do not regret the generous impulse, I am not ashamed of it. Ascribe it, sir, to the admiration with which that estimable young man has inspired me. And having given my word, behold me here to redeem it!

HAST. Sir, I know not which possession to be more proud of—such a servant, or such a friend. Oblige me by retaining your sword, and do Mrs. Hastings the honour to taking a seat at her table.

FRAN. M. Chevalier will pardon me the question, but was it altogether kind in the *friend* of Mr. Hastings to sacrifice the advantage procured him by that friendship?

CHEV. By returning to Calcutta, sir? It was to honour that I sacrificed the advantage affection had secured for me.

FRAN. The affection of Mr. Hastings for his friends is well-known.

CHEV. Mr. Hastings, sir? Sure in the presence of these ladies it's unnecessary for me to recall the fact that I owed my evasion to female courage and fidelity?

Mrs. H. Ah! (*Her husband presses her hand warningly.*)

FRAN. Sure M. Chevalier is happy in his female friends!

CHEV. (*bowing to the ladies.*) He is, sir, and especially in the possession of a wife who, he makes bold to say, is inferior to none of them.

FRAN. Great as are the merits of Mme. Chevalier, they don't enter into the present discussion, sir, I believe?

CHEV. How, sir? Is it possible you haven't heard of my wife's holding Colonel Dow in talk to give me time to make my escape? Or can it be that the respectable Dow has concealed the fact lest it should appear unworthy of his reputation for shrewdness?

FRAN. It was understood that M. Chevalier had escaped the night before.

CHEV. Then it must be Mme. Chevalier's shrewdness of which you think meanly, sir. Why should she waste time in securing my retreat when I was twelve hours gone?

FRAN. I don't pretend to read her mind, sir. It's asserted on credible evidence that you was visited and warned the night before by two of the Company's servants.

CHEV. I had the favour of the gentlemen's company to supper, sir, but no word of warning from them, I assure you.

FRAN. Then perhaps it an't true that Mme. Chevalier received through them a billet from a lady who is now in company?

CHEV. To be sure she did, sir—enclosing an embroidery pattern.

FRAN. (*triumphantly.*) Pray, will you give me your assurance that the billet did not enclose a warning as well, sir?

CHEV. What! does Mr. Francis aspire to supervise his lady's correspondence with her female friends? If this is so, I am the less surprised that the peace of his family is best consulted by the expatriation of its head.

HAST. Stay, gentlemen; pardon me if I interrupt you. If my own character an't sufficient to protect my guest from these ill-natured hints, the infinite pains taken by my servant to secure him must supply the lack. This unbecoming interrogatory must proceed no further, but if Mr. Francis desires to frame a definite accusation, such as may justify his strange remarks, he's at liberty to do it.

FRAN. (*baffled but resourceful.*) Indeed, sir, I'll confess you had led me on a wrong track. I perceive my credulity in being deceived by the pretty little comedy you have devised to amuse the Court of Directors. The evasion of Mr. Chevalier, the dismay of Mr. Hastings, the frantic efforts of his zealous and active agent, the indefatigable Elliot—what a foundation for a glowing report and the consequent elevation of Mr. Elliot? His fortune is made, and that of Mr. Hastings assisted.

(*Enter Aide-de-camp with despatch, which he presents to Hastings.*)

AIDE. From Mr. Elliot's secretary Mr. Farquhar, sir. The express *hircarra* that brought it is but just arrived.

MISS T. La, Mr. Chevalier! the man must have followed on your heels the entire way.

FRAN. It appears that Mr. Elliot was not so guileless as to stake all upon his prisoner's honour.

HAST. Pardon me, ladies. (*Breaks the seal and glances at the letter.*) Heavens! what new blow is this?

MRS. H. Hastings, you are ill! Lean upon me.

HAST. (*slowly.*) Not ill, but grieved to the heart. I have lost my poor Elliot.

ALL. Lost! Not dead?

HAST. Dead, on his way to Naugpoor. (*Partly reading from the despatch.*) With a frame already dangerously weakened by the unhealthy season and the hardships of the journey, the generous youth, knowing the importance of effecting the arrest of Mr. Chevalier, did not scruple to swim a flooded river when the exertion was in the highest degree perilous to him. Having sent his prisoners hither, he prepared to continue his expedition with infinite spirit, but his enfeebled constitution refused to endure the fresh trials to which he desired to subject it. He is no more, and the loss to me is irreparable. (*After a pause.*) Is Mr. Francis convinced now of the falsity of his ungenerous accusation? Alas! I would lie under a thousand such could I be assured that Elliot still lived.

FRAN. Sir, the young gentleman may be said to be *felix opportunitate mortis*.

HAST. (*turning from him to the ladies.*) Would that I also could find the relief of tears! Then I might drown my sense of the public loss in picturing the grief of his venerable father, my faithful friend and supporter, of his lovely sister, of his promising brother, when they learn that their Alick is no more. But even the thought of their affliction fails to move me, in comparison with my own loss and that of the state.

MRS. H. (*aside to Miss T.*) My sweetest Miss Touchet, for Heaven's sake, relieve us of dese people for a few moments!

MISS T. What do you say to a moonlight promenade, gentlemen? Pray, Mr. Chevalier, oblige me with your hand into the garden.

(*All go out but Hastings and Mrs. Hastings.*)

MRS. H. Hastings, calm yourself. Why dis excessive disorder? De loss is great, but you haf oder friends, oder servants.

HAST. Servants who serve themselves, friends of my enemies! I have nobody like him, at once faithful and enterprising—nobody I can send to take up the negotiations. They must lapse, and Moodajee be converted from a probable friend into a certain foe. We are encompassed with enemies already—the Fench, Hyder, the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and now Berar. Sure the British power is doomed, and I can do nothing to arrest its downfall.

MRS. H. Where is your courage, Hastings? Dis I know—if you can't maintain de British power in India, dere's nobody can. What! will you see it sink into de melancholy situation it occupies in America, because de man entrusted with authority has given way to despair?

HAST. Alas, my Marian, your husband has little cause for anything but despair. Slighted at home and opposed in Bengal, foreseeing further evils which he can't prevent, deprived of his worthiest instrument, what can he do?

MRS. H. He can place his confidence in Heaven, and go forward boldly. Alas, Hastings! (must I remind you, when you lament so feelingly de poor Elliot's death, dat it is to your Marian you owe it? But for my warning to

Mme. Chevalier, he need not have perilled his life to secure her husband, and might now be safe in Naugpoor.

HAST. What a callous wretch am I, to have planted this thorn in the bosom of the being to whom I am so infinitely obliged! Yes, my Marian, your Hastings will cease these unmanly repinings, and apply himself afresh to the task committed him by his sovereign and his employers. Despair can never touch him while his Marian is left to him, though every other support fail. Though he can't repair the loss of Elliot, yet he can face its grievous results with constancy.

MRS. H. Now I recognise my Hastings again!

(HISTORICAL NOTE.—It appears tolerably certain that Chevalier was warned of the British designs on Chandernagore, but it is uncertain from whom the warning came. Francis's creature, Macintosh, reiterates the charge against Hastings in his "Travels in Europe and Asia," three years later. Chevalier's escape, capture, return to Calcutta, and the death of Elliot, are all historical.)

SYDNEY C. GRIER.

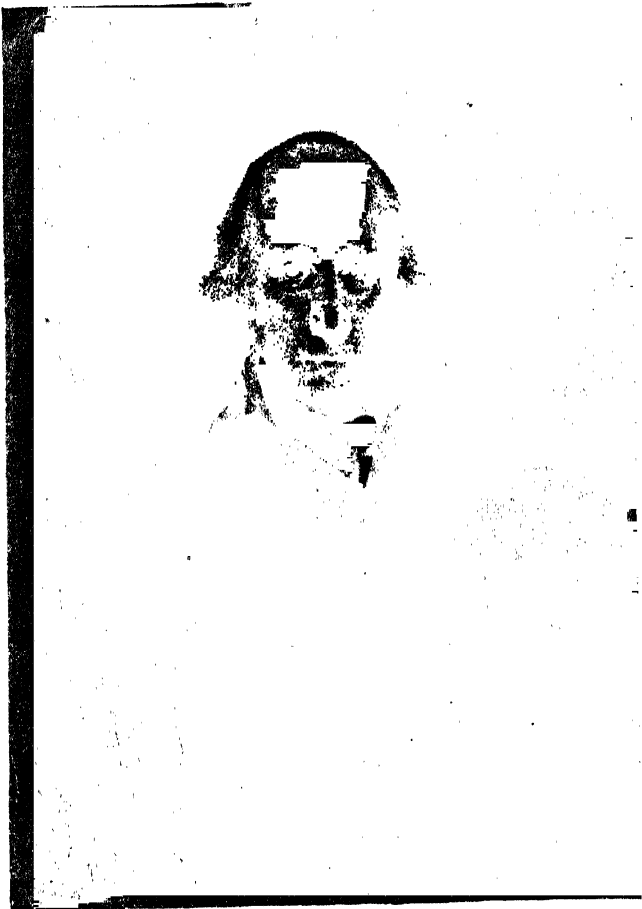
Robert Farquhar

The text of the letter announcing the death of Alexander Elliot was printed in Vol. VI of *Bengal : Past and Present* (pp. 198-199). It was written by Robert Farquhar, Elliot's companion on the mission to Nagpur, on September 13, 1778, "on the Banks of a Nullah 2 coss to the Eastward of Sarangur" [Sarangarh] in the Chhattisgarh State. A view of the monument erected by Hastings on the spot was reproduced in Vol. II (p. 415).

Farquhar's own death was reported by Capt. Campbell in a letter from "Rottunpore" on October 19. Little is known of Farquhar's career in India : beyond the fact that he was evidently residing in Madras in May 1777, for he was one of the jury who held an inquest on Lord Pigot (Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. III, p. 110). As regards his parentage, Major Hodson has ascertained that he was born in 1755, and that he was the younger brother of Sir Walter Farquhar, physician to the Prince of Wales, who attended Pitt in his last illness and received a baronetcy in 1796. In a letter of September 9, 1778, to Hastings, Elliot says that "Mr. Farquhar in his younger days was bred to Physick." Farquhar's mother was a member of the well-known Turing family which was represented in Madras until quite recently. Two of his nephews, the sons of Sir Walter Farquhar, were writers in the company's service. Walter Farquhar, the younger, who was a Bengal writer of 1797, married a daughter of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, the sixth baronet, and died at St. Helena in 1813, presumably on his way to Europe. The elder, Robert Townsend Farquhar (1776—1830), a Madras writer of 1793, was Private Secretary to Lord Minto when Governor-General and became Lieutenant-Governor of Prince of Wales' Island and Governor of Mauritius. He received a baronetcy in 1821 and was a Director of the East India Company from 1826 to 1828. Sir John Henry Townsend Farquhar (1839—1877), the fifth baronet of this creation, was one of the Lucknow garrison in 1857 and was wounded at Chinhut.

E. C.

BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.
VOL. XLIV.



WARREN HASTINGS.

From the Portrait by Lemuel F. Abbot.
From the Picture at the
Victoria Memorial Hall.

Warren Hastings' Favourite Portrait.

VISITORS to the Victoria Memorial Hall will find two portraits of Warren Hastings hanging side by side. They are two of the many which were painted by Lemuel Francis Abbott (1760-1803), an artist of some note in his day. Who is represented in the National Portrait Gallery in London by no less than thirteen portraits, including excellent likenesses of Nelson and Lord Macartney (Governor of Fort Saint George from 1780 to 1785).

Among the numerous portraits of Hastings his favourite was undoubtedly the one for which he sat to Abott in 1795-1796. It pleased him so much that he ordered several replicas of it and gave them to his friends and relatives. Two or these replicas are at the Victoria Memorial Hall.

THE ORIGINAL PICTURE.

The original was presented in 1797 to Hasting's lifelong friend David Anderson and is now in the possession of his great great grandson, Captain D. M. Anderson of Bourhouse, Dunbar (1). The story is told in four letters. Three of them are from Anderson to Hastings and are preserved among the Hastings MSS. at the British Museum. The fourth, or second in point of time, is from Hastings to Anderson and forms part of the Anderson family papers. It has not hitherto been published: and the copy now printed has been most courteously supplied by Captain Anderson.

The first letter (B. M. Add. MS. 29174-19) is written from St. Germain's by Haddington on May 8, 1795. David Anderson, it should be explained, had been staying in London for the conclusion of the impeachment and had been one of the guests at the dinner partly which Hastings gave on April 23 to celebrate his acquittal.

MY DEAR SIR,

I think it will give you pleasure to hear that I am arrived at this place a week ago and found Mrs. Anderson and my children in perfect health.

I have mentioned to Mrs. A. your obliging promise of sitting for me to some painter, and we have had much consultation to determine which we should prefer, a miniature or a portrait. I was at first rather inclined to prefer the former. I was perhaps rather selfish in wishing to carry your picture always with me, and to monopolize

(1) For some account of the Anderson family. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLI, pp. 86-87. Lt. Gen. Sir Warren Hastings Anderson who died on December 10, 1930, was the grandson of David Anderson's younger son Warren Hastings Anderson; and his brother Admiral Sir David Murray Anderson has just been appointed Governor of Newfoundland.

it in a manner to myself. Mrs. A., on the other hand, was strenuous for a patriot, to be put up in our principle room, so that not only ourselves but all our friends may share in the pleasure of seeing you amongst us. Her arguments have prevailed, and it is now accordingly our joint request that you will take the earliest opportunity of fulfilling your kind promise by sitting for your portrait to whatever artist you think will do it most justice.

The second letter, which has hitherto been wanting to complete the series, was written by Hastings from Daylesford House on "13 Janry., 1797."

MY DEAR ANDERSON,

It is probable that you may have forgot a wish which you kindly expressed and which I answered by an almost solemn promise many years ago. It was never out of my remembrance, though a series of Disappointments first, and subsequent embarrassments of choice, prevented the accomplishment of the latter.

To Sir Josua Reynolds I more than once mentioned my desire of sitting to him at a very early period. What prevented it then I do not recollect but well remember the subsequent causes ; his long illness, loss of sight, and death. After that event I could meet with no artist with whose skill I was satisfied, till accident brought me acquainted with Mr. Abbot, and after many patient sittings in the course of two years, if not more, and much change in the original similitude, I at length obtained from him one which, whether well executed or not, has appeared to me to bear a stronger resemblance of me than any that I have yet seen.

I desired him to send it to you and to let me know when it was despatched, which he did by a letters bearing a wrong direction, so that I did not receive it till to-day ; and it is therefore possible that you may receive the picture before this appraisal of it. It was sent off last Friday (the 6th, I believe) by the Edinburgh waggon. I request your acceptance and hope it may remain in your family as a lasting memorial of the friendship of a man who always loved you, not only for the proved attachment which you have ever manifested towards him, but for a large portion of the reputation which he has acquired among that part of the world that is willing to allow him any.

Yours ever most affectionately,

WARREN HASTINGS.

To this Anderson replies (B. M. Add. MS. 29, 175-15) on January 22, 1797, from North Castle Street, Edinburgh.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is impossible to me to express my feelings at receiving your letter of the 13th. The present which you have sent me will afford me more real happiness than any gift that Fortune could bestow.

To nine-tenths of the world a portrait of you drawn from the life would be highly valuable. What must it be to me who can look back to twenty years of uninterrupted friendship and who owe to your kindness much of the comfort I have enjoyed and to your distinguished attention perhaps all the share of fame that I possess? I shall preserve it as a sacred memorial of your friendship and transmit it to my descendants as an object of veneration and an incitement to virtue.

If anything could add to the value of such a present it is the kind letter which notified it. It is enough to make me vain, and I certainly feel some sensation like either vanity or pride. But I will not let either vanity or pride so far carry me away as not to disclaim the merit which your partiality leads you to allow me. If I had any merit in my public character under you, it was that of following out your instructions or where I was obliged to act for myself it was that of conceiving rightly what you under such circumstances would have wished me to do. And here let me recollect with pleasure that in all difficult cases nothing was of so much use to me as the conviction that, whilst I acted right, whether I had your instructions or not, I was sure of meeting with your approbation.

From enquiries which I have made at the wagon office I find that it may be Thursday next before my impatience can be gratified by the arrival of your Picture.

The arrival of the portrait is announced in the fourth letter (B. M. Add. MS. 29, 175-26), which was written by Anderson from North Castle Street, Edinburgh, on February 3, 1797:—

MY DEAR SIR,

Your Picture is arrived and I am delighted with it beyond expression. It is not only a fine painting but, what is infinitely more valuable, it is the strongest resemblance I ever saw. I could almost imagine when I look at it that you were present and speaking to me. Mrs. Sands (2) and many of your Friends have been here to see it, and every one admires it more than another. I do not know how to thank you sufficiently for this valuable Present. Mrs. Anderson is almost as proud of it as I am.

(2) Mrs. Sands was the widow of Major William Sands who had been aide-de-camp to Warren Hastings in 1780-1781 and subsequently Regulating officer of the Calcutta Militia. He accompanied Hastings to Europe in February 1785, and died at Hailes near Edinburgh on November 14, 1790. His widow died at Edinburgh on April 13, 1807. Their son William John Sands, who was baptized at Calcutta on January 30, 1782, came out to Bengal as a writer in 1797, was second judge of the provincial court at Benares in 1822, and retired on annuity on January 2, 1827. Another son was named after Warren Hastings.

SOME OF THE REPLICAS.

It has already been mentioned that Hastings commissioned a number of replicas of the portrait which he presented to David Anderson, and that two of these replicas are in the Victoria Memorial Hall. One of them was bequeathed in 1919 by Miss Marian Winter, the grand-niece of Mrs. Hastings (3), to the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery, by whom it was, at the instance of Lord Curzon, lent to the Calcutta collection. It came from Daylesford and seems to have been painted for Hastings himself.

The other, which hangs by its side, was presented in 1909 by Kumar Birendra Chandra Sinha of Paikpara. It was bought by him from Messrs. Arthur Tooth and Sons as a portrait by Hoppner. But a careful comparison of it with the Daylesford picture can leave no doubt that, with the exception of a slightly faulty drawing of the mouth, it is an exact counterpart, even in size (20 inches by 24 inches). Its history is known. According to Sir Charles Lawson (*Private Life of Warren Hastings*, p. 246) it was sold at Christie's on July 11, 1885. It was then in the collection of Mr. J. Passmore Edwards. A previous owner had been a Mrs. Plumer, to whom it came in all probability from Sir Thomas Plumer, who was one of Hastings' counsel at the impeachment and was subsequently Master of the Rolls. It would appear also that it was at one period in the possession of the Minto family: for inscribed on the back of the canvas are the words "Portrait of Warren Hastings", in the handwriting of the first Lord Minto (1751-1814). An engraving by H. Robinson may be found in Jerdan's National Portrait Gallery (1830-1834; Vol. 111) with an attribution to Sir Joshua Reynolds. But, as we have seen, Hastings asserts positively, in his letter to Anderson, that he did not sit to Sir Joshua, who died, as a matter of fact, in 1792. There is a portrait of Hastings by Reynolds, which was at one time in the possession of Lady Northwick (4). But the engraving of it by Thomas Watson, of which a copy was presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by Miss Winter in 1904, was published on March 26, 1777. Hastings is represented as a young man, seated at a table, with one knee crossed over the other, and the picture is nearly full length.

A third replica was sold at Christie's on June 29, 1929, as the work of Sir William Beechey. In this case there was again no difficulty in detecting the misdescription for the picture not only resembled the portrait by Abbott

(3) Miss Winter died at Nether Worton House, Steeple Aston, Oxfordshire, on March 31, 1919, in her eighty-first year. Many relics of Hastings were bequeathed by her to the Victoria Memorial Hall. Her father, the Rev. Thomas Winter, Rector of Daylesford, married Marian Chapuset, the daughter of Baron Chapuset, Mrs. Hastings' brother, who became her aunt's companion after the death of Hastings in 1818. The family papers passed into the custody of Mr. Winter on the death of Mrs. Hastings' son, Sir Charles Imhoff, in 1853.

(4) Lady Northwick was the widow of the third and last Lord Northwick (1811-1887) and died on May 29, 1912, when the Northwick estates passed to Sir Charles Hamilton Rushout (1868-1931), fourth and last baronet, who died without issue. He was descended from Charles Cockerell (d. 1837) founder of the once-famous Calcutta firm of Cockerell Traill Palmer and Co.; he was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1776 to 1794 and was created a baronet in 1809 and married as his second wife Harriet Rushout, daughter of the first Lord Northwick. The second baronet (1809-1869) took the name of Rushout.

in the Victoria Memorial Hall in every detail but was entirely different from William Skelton's engraving of Beechey's portrait which was published in 1817, the year before Hastings' death (5). The picture had been the property of Major-General Sir Charles Walters D'Oyly (1822-1900), the ninth baronet, who was the son of Hastings' word. Sir John Hadley D'Oyly the younger (1794-1869) and who must not be confused with his uncle Sir Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845), the artist-civilian and seventh baronet. He was, however, likewise an artist, and the illustrations to Sir William Hunter's *Old Missionary* are his (6). So also are two sketches in water-colour in the Lyall collection of Sir Hugh Wheeler and General W. H. Hewett (1790-1863), who cut such a poor figure when in command at Meerut in May 1857 (7).

There is reason to believe that the half-length portrait, in a dark coat and red waistcoat, which is in the possession of the Dowager Lady Teignmouth and which originally belonged to Sir John Shore, is another of Abbott's replicas, although long ascribed to A. W. Devis.

It would seem that copies were also painted for William Cowper and Edward Baber, two civilians who had served under Hastings in Bengal. In a letter written from Daylesford on May 6, 1797, Hastings mentions the Cowper portrait, and sends to Baber along with his picture, the well-known lines of which the first-half is as follows:—

A mouth extended fierce from ear to ear,
 With fangs like those which wolves and tigers wear ;
 Eyes whose dark orbs announce a sullen mood,
 A lust of rapine and a thirst of blood—
 Such Hastings was, as by the commons painted,
 (Men shudder'd as they looked, and women fainted)
 When they display'd him to the vacant throne
 And bade the Peers the labour'd likeness own :
 And such in all his attributes array'd
 Behold him here on Abbot's canvas spread !
 'Tis true, to vulgar sense they lie conceal'd,
 To Burke, and men like Burke, alone, reveal'd.
 They, their own hearts consulting, see him here,
 In lines reflected from themselves appear ;
 With metaphysic eyes the picture scan,
 Pierce through the varnish, and detect the man.

The text of the whole poem is displayed in a frame at the Victoria Memorial Hall, below the two replicas which hang there.

(5) There is a copy of the engraving at the Victoria Memorial Hall, it was presented by the Raja of Hill Tippera in 1904.

(6) For an account of Sir C. W. D'Oyly. See *ante*, p. 95.

(7) He has been described as "inefficient, indolent, and corpulent": but there is this to be said in his favour that he was sixty-seven years of age at the time, and should have been on the retired list.

Lastly, in a letter to *The Times* of January 11, 1928, Mrs. E. F. A. Wansbrough of Shotwick Vicarage, near Chester, announced that she was the owner of yet another replica. Mrs. Wansbrough is the daughter of the late Mr. Warren Hastings—Woodman. Hastings, whose grandmother Ann Hastings was the Governor-General's sister, and whose mother, Louise Chapusettin, was a niece of Mrs. Warren Hastings. She communicated another interesting fact.

MEMORIES OF HASTINGS.

In a letter published in *The Times* on January 6, the late Dr. George Claridge Druce of Oxford stated that he was the possessor of "two richly carved ivory staves of office of the Kings of Oude, which were brought to Daylesford by Warren Hastings, and kept there." He wrote:—

They are over 5ft. high and about 2in. in diameter at the top but tapering to the base. Each is in two pieces only, the joints being hidden by a metal band. A subsequent member of the Daylesford family had them mounted in ebony and gold stands, and the staves were pierced in order to support folding glass frames, with water-colour paintings to serve as fire screens.

Commenting upon this letter Mrs. Wansbrough observed: "There was a room at Daylesford often spoken of as furnished entirely in ivory, upholstered in blue velvet." The reference must be to the famous set of ivory furniture sent by Munny Begum (the widow of Mir Jaffir) to Mrs. Hastings in 1782, and now the property of the Maharajahdiraj Bahadur of Durbhanga, whose father presented a teapoy and a chair belonging to the set to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Writing on January 2, Sir Algernon Law communicated the text of a letter written from Daylesford on February 19, 1798, by Hastings to Ewan Law, the elder brother of Lord Ellenborough who was the leading counsel for the defence at the impeachment. In the course of this letter Hastings observes:—

Men who are guilty of associate crimes, especially if their gang is numerous, seldom feel compunction for them. The prime mover of my impeachment may have experienced a sensation of that kind, if he himself could discriminate the pangs of disappointed rancor from the horrors of self-condemnation: but for the rest, I fear that their number, which is their protection against popular condemnation, is also their effectual guard against self-reproach.

The occasion for the letter was an acknowledgment by Law (who had served in Bengal from 1764 to 1782 and was now a member of Parliament) of a book which Hastings had sent to him. The late Mr. Arthur Caspersz, of the Calcutta Bar, wrote on January 6 to say that he was the owner of a copy of this book which was the "Debates of the House of Lords, Proceedings of the East India Company, Testimonials, etc", and was published in 1797.

Mr. Caspersz' copy contained the inscription: "To Capt. H. S. Davis from A. M. A. Hastings, Daylesford House, Novr. 9, 1836." As another inscription testifies, Mrs. Hastings was then in her eighty-ninth year: she died on February 20, 1837. Capt. Henry Samuel Davis was the son of Samuel Davis, the artist friend of the Daniells and hero of Nandeswar House at Benares, who had a house at Kingham near Daylesford.

In the course of other correspondence which followed it was revealed that Hastings' watch, with the hall-mark of 1744, was owned by the late Sir John Murray, the publisher, whose father received it as a bequest from Miss Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop), the well-known traveller. The present Sir John Murray still has the watch which (he assures me) is in perfect working order.

It remains to add that a muzzle-loading single-barrelled fowling-piece, which is said to have belonged to Warren Hastings, forms part of the Lyall collection. A letter which accompanies it is signed Charles Dodge and states: "The old Indian gun was the property of Warren Hastings, late Governor of India. My father was steward for some years at Daylesford, and I was born on the estate. My grandfather and father are buried at Daylesford." Additional interest attaches to the gun from the fact that the words "Lucknow Arsenal" are engraved on the lock, and the name of Claude Martin is on the left side of the barrel. The stock is inlaid with silver and chased, and the plate protecting the butt and the trigger guard are of solid silver; the barrel at the trigger end is inlaid with gold. As the number 23 is on the trigger guard, it would seem that the gun is one of a series.

EVAN COTTON.

[Portions of this article were published in the *Statesman* of August 28, 1932].

The letters of Capt. William Mercer.—II.

Series IV.

INTRODUCTION.

INDIA IN 1783.

IT is necessary to revert for a few moments to the movements of the English and French fleets, and whilst doing so to touch briefly on the more important events which took place on land during the year 1783.

When we left the rival commanders towards the close of the preceding year, Hughes was at Bombay, and Suffren at Achem. On 20th December, the latter sailed and on Jan. 8, 1783 anchored off Ganjam, 500 miles N.E. of Cuddalore. Meanwhile (7th Dec.), Hyder Ali's death had taken place, and news thereof reaching Suffren on 12th January, he sailed immediately for Cuddalore in order to communicate with Tippoo Sultan, Hyder's son and successor; and incidentally to secure the safety of the garrison of the place which was in danger of being attacked by General Stuart. Leaving Cuddalore, Suffren next went to Trincomalee, where, on 10th March, he was joined by Bussy from the Isle of France with 3 ships and numerous transports. Five days later Suffren sailed, and on 16th March landed these reinforcements at Porto Novo, after which he returned to Trincomalee.

Sir Edward Hughes had by this time left Bombay with 17 ships of the line, and on 11th April he fell in with Suffren's fleet off Trincomalee. As both commanders were more or less unprepared, no fight ensued, and the English went on to Madras.

Preparations for the recapture of Cuddalore were now made by the English, and early in June, General Stuart took up a position to the south of that fortress, Sir Edward Hughes coming to his assistance with the English fleet. On the 13th June, the entrenched position held by the French under Bussy was attacked by Stuart, who succeeded in capturing 13 guns and the key of the position, and compelled the French to withdraw into the fort.

News of the blockade of Cuddalore reaching Suffren at Trincomalee on 10th June; he sailed at once, and on the evening of the 13th came in sight of the English fleet. Baffling winds prevailed for the next day or two, but on the 17th Suffren succeeded in communicating with the fort and embarked 1,200 of the garrison to fill the vacancies in his ships. On the 20th Suffren attacked, and although the odds in ships were 18 to 15 in favour of the English, this advantage was counterbalanced by the fact that no less than 1,700 of Hughes'

fleet were disabled by scurvy ; and the result was once more indecisive. Each side lost about 500 men ; but Hughes, from the state of his ships and the want of water, was unable to continue the conflict and retired to Madras, abandoning the English army, and leaving Suffren anchored off Cuddalore for the time being supreme at sea.

The latter now returned the 1,200 men he had borrowed from Bussy together with some 2,000 of his fleet. Thus strengthened, the French general, on 24th June, made a vigorous sortie which was repulsed with heavy loss to the French.

On June 29, news of the Peace of Versailles reached Cuddalore from Madras, and on July 8, hostilities ceased. Suffren finally sailed from Trincomalee for France on Oct. 6, 1783.

On the western side of India, on learning of the death of Hyder Ali, the Bombay Government ordered General Mathews to discontinue his operations on the coast and push on against Bednore. Hyderghur was captured on Jan. 27 ; Bednore surrendered on terms ; and Mangalore capitulated on March 9. Shortly afterwards Tippoo Sultan returned with a strong force from the Carnatic, and on May 3, the English garrison marched out of Bednore, having retained that fortress about three months.

The conditions on which the garrison surrendered were, however, violated by Tippoo, who, on the pretext that the public treasury had been plundered by the English officers, seized some of them, including General Mathews, and sent them off into captivity.

Tippoo next turned his attention to the recapture of Mangalore. The garrison, however, managed to withstand a protracted siege, and the fortress was eventually saved by the arrival of news of the conclusion of peace between England and France ; whereupon Tippoo agreed to an armistice.

LETTER XIII.

Under the designation "Governor-General's Family" were, at this period, included all the members of what is now called the Personal Staff.

The actual order appointing Mercer to the Body Guard has not been traced. This letter and the preceding one, however, fix the date of his appointment somewhere between Dec. 10, 1782, and Feb. 16, 1783.

HYDER ALI died on 7th December, 1782, at Narsingh Rayanapet, near Chittoor. Owing to the absence of his son Tippoo Sultan in Malabar, it was necessary to conceal his death from the army until Tippoo should arrive and maintain his claim as successor to the throne. The body was accordingly emblamed, deposited in a chest supposed to contain treasure, and sent from the camp under an escort. Hyder Ali's palanquin continued to accompany the army on the march, in its accustomed position, and the business of State

The official Indian Army List states that the last mentioned title, "which was never formally conferred upon the corps, was first used in 1781." This is incorrect. General Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief, and a Member of the Supreme Council, refers to the corps as the "Governor-General's Body Guard" at a Council meeting held on 26th January, 1777.

No. XV.

To *Wm. Mercer Esq.*

CALCUTTA,
29th March 1783.

My Dr. Father.

I wrote you by the Wooster but she is not yett sailed, and I find now there is a paquett to sail in a few days for Europe with an account of General Mathews' victory on the Mallabar coast, he has taken the whole Bidanore country with the strong fort of Hydernagar where he released three battallions of our Seapoys found eight thousand stand of new arms and one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, with two fiftys and a sixty-four gun ships on the stocks with all their stores, this victory together with Hyder Ali's death, and the signing the Mahratta peace gives a favourable aspect to our affairs in this quarter of the globe. . . . I live entirely in the Governor's family and find myself very happy. Direct for me Lt. Mercer Governor's Body Gu [erased] Troop Calcutta. Sir Eyre Coote is certainly going home as his health will not permitt his staying here. As soon as you learn who is to succeed as Commander in Chief try and gett me some letters to him as they are of consequence in this country.

* * * * *

LETTER XVI.

BUDGEROES—more properly Budgerows, are keelless barges, or house-boats, which were used for travelling on the Ganges. The after part of the boat was fitted up with cabins. Hastings' budgerow, according to the author of *Hartly House*, was known at Calcutta as "the budgerow of budgerows;" and in a letter to his wife, dated 24th September, 1784, Hastings writes of it as "my beautiful budgerow."

MRS. HASTINGS appears to have suffered to a considerable extent from fever during the rainy season. At the date of this letter Hastings had already come to the determination of sending her home early in the following year, feeling fully convinced that another season in the country might prove fatal to her.

No. XVI.

To Miss Mercer.

(Undated: probably despatched in either Sept. or Oct. 1783.)

I have now been long enough in the country to judge, and I think, the climate far from a bad one, to people who take care of themselves, to be sure it is terribly hott for six months but other four are very pleasant, and two rainy months are made pleasant by living on the river, where the Governor and all his family were for all that time, it is a noble river, and the accomodation in boats delightful, they are called Budgeroes and are the compleatest method of travelling I have yett scen. You may suppose so when familys go to live in them for months, the one I now live in, I mean this family, is a very pleasant one, the Governor is generally very much taken up with business, which the management of such an immense empire as this requires, when that is over he wishes to be a pleasant companion, and succeeds perfectly. Mrs. H. has been a charming woman, but has suffered by the heat of this climate. She proposes going home this year which I hope will entirely recover her, although we shall miss her much in the family.

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LETTER XVII.

SIR ELIJAH IMPEY—(1732-1809.) Called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn in 1756. In 1773 was appointed to be the first Chief Justice of Bengal; knighted; and arrived in India the following year. Presided at the trial of Nuncomar in 1775. In 1780 was appointed by Hastings to be President of the Sudder Dewany Adalat, which appointment was denounced by the enemies of both as being in the nature of a bribe. There is, however, no proof that Impey derived any pecuniary benefit from this appointment. In January, 1783, he received his sentence of recall by the House of Commons in order to answer six charge of illegal conduct. He took his passage at once on the *Worcester*, but his departure was delayed until December. His impeachment at the bar of the House of Commons was commenced in 1787, but eventually abandoned. He died on the 1st October, 1809.

THE DEFINITE TREATY—*i.e.*, the treaty between the English and Tippoo Sultan, which was not finally signed until 11th May, 1784. On receipt of the news of the Peace of Versailles an armistice, which was to last for four months from 2nd August, 1783, was concluded with Tippoo Sultan. The latter, however, never actually abstained from hostile proceedings, and entirely disregarded the clause in the armistice which authorised the supply of provisions to the British garrison beseiged in Mangalore; even going so far as to carry on his preparations for the assault of that fortress.)

GENERAL MATHEWS—was, as we have already seen, taken prisoner after the capitulation of Bednore, and sent to Seringapatam. In a letter, dated Bangalore, 10th April, 1784, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 20th May, 1784, General Mathews' name is given in a list of those who "Died at Seringapatam and Mysore." The following account of his death is extracted from "The Narrative of Mr. William Drake, formerly Midshipman of the *Hannibal*, and other prisoners taken last war, who have lately made their escape from Tippoo," which appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 8th December, 1791.

"At Seringapatam, General Mathews was in confinement, James Skurry was sent for one day to the Cutcherry there, and some pewter plates, with marks on them, were shown to him to explain; he saw on them words to this purport, I am indebted to the Malabar Christians, on account of the public service, forty thousand rupees; the Company owes me (about) thirty thousand; I have taken poison, and am within a short time of death; whoever communicates this to the Bombay Government, or to my wife, will be amply rewarded.' (signed) Richard Mathews. Part of the Guard that were posted over the General have assured Mr. Drake and the others that poison was given to him in milk."

"JACK"—Capt. J. H. Dempster (see Letter V.).

The *Ann and Amelia*, a vessel of 600 tons, sailed from Portsmouth on 6 February, 1782, under command of Capt. John Popham, "with orders to remain in India." Mr. Robert Walker, the "Late Chief Mate" was buried at Calcutta on 28, November, 1783.

No. XVII.

To Mr. Dempster.

CALCUTTA,
Dec. 1st 1783.

My Dr. Sir,

As Sir Elija Impey has been kind enough to offer to carry any letters I wished to send you I take this opportunity of writing you. I sent several letters by the *Narbudah* Capt. Rattray which I hope you will receive. We have not yett gott any information of the Definite Treaty being signed, but all is peace here. There are some reports of Tipo Sahib having again commenced hostilitys but it is but a report. General Mathews is also said to be dead, you may suppose we are very anxious to hear what is going on in Europe as it is near eight months since we have heard from that pert of the world. Jack has left Bombay on his way to China and I hope you will soon have him in England. There was a great storm at Madrass on the change of the monsoon in which thirty ships of different sorts were lost the *Ann and Amelia* was the only large one.

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Series V.

INTRODUCTION.

FROM JAN. 1784, TO THE CLOSE OF HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION.

The remaining 13 months of Hastings' stay in India were anxious and busy ones for him, and his mind was occupied with cares both private and official, with worries from England as well as internal.

In the first place he had to reconcile himself to the separation from his "beloved Marian," whose state of health, as has previously been noted, necessitated her immediate departure for England. To what extent this parting preyed upon his mind may best be gathered from a perusal of the letters written to his wife during the period which elapsed before he himself was able to embark for England.

His own health also was not of the best, and he writes to his wife on 19th February, 1784:—"My Sickness, though in no Stage of it portending any Thing like Danger, has proved of a very obstinate Kind. Its worst Symptoms were a Want of Appetite and a deadly Langour." Again, on 1st March, he writes:—"On the 9th of February I was attacked with a troublesome Indisposition which hung upon me with a slow Fever and deadly Langour to the 19th "

His public, as well as private, relations with the three Members of the Supreme Council (Wheler, Macpherson, and Stables) were at this period considerable strained, all three of them opposing him in Council on every possible occasion. In addition to this Hastings knew that his enemies at Home were making the most of their time and were openly impugning his conduct; and he lived in daily expectation of receiving by the Overland Packet orders of recall, and news of the appointment of his successor. This, as a matter of fact, would have been in accordance with his wishes, as during the preceding year he had sent home a despatch to the Court of Directors by the *Surprize* Packet, announcing his intention of resigning office, and requesting that his successor might be nominated.

What, however, did give him cause for apprehension was the possibility that Lord Macartney, his arch-enemy, might be appointed to succeed him, or failing him, one of the three Members of Council, all of whom he considered to be incompetent and absolutely unfitted for the post.

A rumour to the effect that news had been received in Bombay from England that Lord Macartney was to become Governor-General, Francis second Member of Council, with the right of succeeding to the Chair, and General Richard Smith Commander-in-Chief actually reached Calcutta in February and was forwarded to Hastings, then on his way to Lucknow, by Wheler and Stables. Hastings however placed no credence in it, recognising it as a fabrication of his enemies. He writes to his wife on 14th February,

immediately after receiving the letter containing the above rumour :—"I would give One half of my Life for the Certainty of beginning the other Half with you tomorrow. But I would not wish even for the immediate Possession even of such a Blessing at the Purchase of such a Mortification as to be thrust out of my Seat by such Fellows as Lord Macartney, Mr. Francis and General Richard Smith."

LETTER XVIII.

COX' ISLAND, from which this letter is dated, and where the *Atlas*, in which Mrs. Hastings embarked for England, was lying, (Vide following letter.) was close to Kedgerree. There is no place of this name at the present day, but it is frequently mentioned as a safe anchorage for the company's vessels in the records of the latter half of the 18th century. It was variously known as Coxe Island or Cocks Island (see article in *Bengal : Past and Present*. Vol. XXXII. p.p. 84-91 : "A Forgotten Island in the Bay of Bengal"). Capt. David Tolmé of the *Resolution* reported on October 20, 1783, from the Sand Heads that his ship was "at last safe out after a most tedious passage from Culpee to Cock's Island."

Mrs Hastings, accompanied by the Governor-General, had left Calcutta in their budgerow on 2nd January and proceeded as far as Kalpi, 48 miles down the river. Here they transhipped into a pinnace in which the remaining 20 miles of the journey to Kedgerree was performed. Kedgerree is thus 68 miles below Calcutta, and, Mercer tells us (vide following letter), that "Cox's Island [is] about a hundred miles below Calcutta."

THE KING was the Emperor Shah Alam Who, in 1783, had conferred titles of honour on both Hastings and Mrs. Hastings. According to the *Morning Chronicle* for 5th October, 1784, Mrs. Hastings' titles were as follows :—"Royal and Imperial Governess, Elegance of the Age, Most exalted Bilkiss (Queen of Sheba), Zobaide of the Palaces, Most Heroic Princess, Ruby, Marian Hastings Sauby (Sahiba), &c., &c. . . ."

With reference to Mercer's statement to the effect that the title of Begum "was never before given to any European," it is interesting to note that the wife of the Rev. William Johnson, Chaplain of Calcutta at this period, was known as "Begum Johnson." Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* writes, "The Rev. Wm. Johnson, her*fourth husband, left India for good in February, 1788, and she remained behind for nearly a quarter of a century longer dispensing as the 'Begum Johnson' a 'dignified hospitality'." This lady, who had been a prisoner of Suraj-ud-Daula at Moorshedabad in 1756, was, when she died in 1812, the oldest European resident in Bengal.

Mrs. Hastings' jewels formed the subject in England of much controversy as well amongst the friends as amongst the enemies of the Governor-General ; the latter of course affecting to see in them the fruits of numerous bribes and

presents illegally taken from both Natives and Europeans in India. The importation into England of the black velvet riding habit trimmed with pearls appears, according to the following extract from S. C. Grier's *The Letter of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, to have been prohibited entirely:—

“Among Hastings' miscellaneous papers in the British Museum is a list of goods belonging to her which were either prohibited or detained on arrival. Her muslin gowns were merely detained, but everything made of silk was prohibited, as well as a velvet riding-habit worked with pearls, and various dresses, curtains and stuffs containing gold or silver thread. She seems, in fact, to have been threatened with the loss of all her own clothes—save those she had taken on shore with her at Portsmouth—and all the articles she had brought for presents. Not until the beginning of the next year is Scott able to announce that the Directors have remitted the Company's duties, £250, on Mrs. Hastings' things, and paid the King's duties, amounting to £875, for her.”

No. XVIII.

To Miss Mercer.

Cox' ISLAND,
Jan. 7th 1784.

My Dr. Annie

I shall begin by telling you I have not recd. one letter from Europe, since I arrived in India which is now fourteen months, you will scarce believe that I am now almost as cold, as you are in Europe, to be sure six months in the year are very hott here, but the other six is very pleasant and in some degree makes up for the hott ones. We have now ice in great plenty I don't mean to skate on, but we have always ice creams after dinner, in short it is by no means a bad country and were all my friends here I should never ask to leave it. Mrs. Hastings is now on her way to England she is a very pleasant well bred woman, I do not know how she will bear the change from being a Queen in this country, to become a private individual at home, she has been dignified by the King here with the title of Begum which signifies Queen, and was never before given to any European. I do not think she goes home very rich, although she has an immense quantity of jewels, she has one dress which you will probably hear talked of in England, it is a black velvet riding habit trimmed with pearl, the Epollett, and buttons are diamonds, it is worth I suppose about twelve thousand pounds. Laurie came down from Patna and stayed with me three weeks, he is perfectly well and is very little changed by the climate he is returned to Patna I hear from him generally once a week. I have wrote my father about Graeme and hope soon to see him here. There is no prospects at present of making fortunes in a hurry in India, but we are sure of being able to live like Gentlemen.

* * * * *

LATTER XIX.

The *Atlas*, by which this letter was despatched, sailed on Saturday, 10th January, and anchored in the Thames on 5th August, having first touched at Portsmouth where Mrs. Hastings, and probably the mails also, were landed.

With regard to the private fortune supposed to have been accumulated by Hastings during his tenure of Office, Hastings himself writes to his wife on 13th August, 1784:—"Another Year in India will disqualify me to leave it, by the Want of Means to pay my Passage."

CAPTAIN ARCHIBALD SWINTON—Ensign, 1 Aug., 1759: Lieut., 10 Sept., 1761: Capt., 18 Oct., 1763: Resigned, 23 Jan., 1766. In 1763 he was given the command of the newlyraised 10th Battalion of Bengal Native Infantry (afterwards 1st Bn. of the 6th) formed from independent companies at Midnapore. This Battalion was known as "Soolteen-ki-paltan"—Soolteen being the native corruption of Swinton. It was re-numbered as the 3rd B.N.I. in 1824 and mutinied at Phillour in May, 1857. For some account of Swinton see *Bengal: Past and Presents*, Vol. XXXI. pp. 13—38.

John Stables, as we have already seen, was at the same period in command of the 15th Battalion of Bengal Native Infantry.

JONATHAN DUNCAN—(1756-1811.)

Born, 15 May, 1756. Arrived in Calcutta in H.E.I. Co's Service in 1772. On Oct. 4, 1782, he was appointed Superintendent of the *Mazuli Daftar*—"an office formerly kept up for the examination and adjustment of disputed accounts or outstanding balances, especially those of officers who had been dismissed, or were chagrined with embezzlement or with undue exaction." (Cf. Sir W. W. Hunter's *Bengal records*.) A few weeks later he was deputed to Patna for the purpose of forming a new Settlement of the Mahals of Rajah Kalian Sinh. Early in 1788 he was made Resident and Superintendent at Benares; and Lord Cornwallis, in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated Calcutta, 3rd March, 1788, writes:—"I have received the greatest satisfaction from the close application to business and the judicious conduct of Mr. Duncan, in his station of Resident of Benares." On 27th December 1795 he was appointed Governor of Bombay and held that post for 16 years, until his death on 11th August, 1811. He was buried at Bombay, his monument in St Thomas's Cathedral bearing the inscription, "He was a good man and a just," and on a scroll the word, "Infanticide abolished in Benares and Kattiawar." (Cf. *Dict. Ind. Biog.*)

GRAEME MERCER—did not receive his appointment an assistant Surgeon on the Dungal Establishment until January 18, 1789.

No. XIX.

Jany. 7th 1784.

To Wm. Mercer Esq.

My Dear Father

I am now on the river going down with Mrs. Hastings on her way to England where she will arrive about the time you receive this. The people I suppose will make a great noise about her fortune, I believe it very moderate and to consist principally of her jewels which to be sure are very valuable. The Governor might certainly have had, ten times the fortune he now has, but he has no idea of the value of money, they are both people that I have received great civilities from, I have now lived a year in their family and like them better every day I have known them. I had a letter from Laurie yesterday, I have asked the Governor to remove him to Calcutta, and to appoint him a member of a Board of Inspection which is now going to be appointed here, if that committee is formed I have reason to believe he will be one of them. I mentioned to you before the civilities I had received from Mr. Stables, although you are unacquainted with him, I beg you will write him to thank him for his friendship to me, it will be well taken, and if he remains in this country will be of use to me, gett Capt. Swinton also to write Mr. Stables respecting me he is a very old friend and favourite of his, they were long together in this country. I hope by this time you have gott Graeme appointed a Surgeon on the Bengal eastablishment. I have gott a very good house in Calcutta, where I hope to see him soon. Jonathan Duncan and I live together at present, and Laurie if he comes down will make the third, he will sure to find some of us in Calcutta whenever he comes, and I should think the cooner he comes the better, however you are best judge, only gett him appointed as soon as possible whether he comes or not, as rank is of consequence here.

We are just now going on board the *Atlas* at a place called Cox's Island about a hundred miles below Callcutta, and the ships will sail today or tomorrow, when the Governor and all the party will return to Callcutta. Give my love to my Mother and all the family and Believe me to be your Affectionate Son.

(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

I am still in the same situation as when I last wrote you, there has been no vacancy in the Governor's family, I am still in waiting to be appointed ar Aid de Camp, you must direct for me Governor General's, Callcutta.

COX'S ISLAND

Jany. 8th 1784.

* * * * *

LETTER XX.

Hastings arrived at Lucknow on 27 March 1784, after a stay of five days at Benares. Writing to his wife from Lucknow on 13 August, he says that he "cannot suppress some very uneasy Reflexions" upon the change in his health since his visit to Chunar in 1781. "The last Sixteen Months that we passed together were a Period of continued illness or of a Habit laboring under the Effects of illness." On 25 August, he writes "I have surmounted all the obstacles of my Departure and shall adhere to the Day, which is that after to-morrow."

No. XX.

To Wm. Mercer Esq.

CALLCUTTA,
November, 30th 1784.

My Dr. Father

I have received several letters for which I return you a thousand thanks. The Governor did me the honor to appoint me one of his Aid de Camps in February last at which time we left Calcutta and went to Lucknow, which is the capital of the Nobob of Oude's country, and about eight hundred miles from Calcutta. I rode the whole way and we arrived there about the end of March, the Governor staid there six months, attempting to settle the country and putt the Nabob in a mode of paying his debpt to the company which amounts to 52 lacs of rupees or about six hundred & fifty thousand pounds, the whole by his scheme will be paid by August 1785. Mr. Hastings is so much displeased by the treatment he has mett with from home, that I am afraid he is determind to return home soon, indeed his health requires it, he only wishes to have a successor appointed whom he may initiate in the line of bussiness before he quits it. I wish to God a proper man may be appointed, whoever succeeds, will find all his abilities requisite by coming after a man beloved by all the natives, and dreaded and respected by all the foreign powers, his perfect knowledge of the language and the people have been of great use to him in his negotiations with the country powers, in short very few are equal to the task of succeeding him. However I hope he will not leave this until the end of 85 or beginning of 86 when matters will be probably more settled both here and at home. Should he remain here any time, I have reason to hope I may gett some employment that may enable me to think of home, in the course of ten or twelve years, at any rate I shall be able to make my way here. I have gott a tolerable knowledge of the Persian language which is of great use in this country and spoke but by few Europeans. I spent three weeks with Laurie on my way down, the Governor was also two days with him at Patna. Cpts. Maitland, Baillie, and Gardner of

the King's troops leave this tomorrow on their way to Bombay, from whence they propose going home over the desert. Mr. Wheler the second in Council here died October last universally lamented, the Governor is far from well, Mr. McPherson must soon quit the country he has been ill this some time. Mr. Stables is very well, I lived in his house all last month but have now gott a house of my own, where there is a room for Graeme when he chuses to come out. The ships will sail from here in the months of December Jany. & Feby. but the *Surprise* Packett will probably be home long before any of them, I shall write by the ships as they are dispatched. There is a great many people going home this year, who has remained in India some time, from the danger of being taken during the War. I beg my love to my Mother and that you will bellieve me.

Your Affectionate Son
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

* * * * *

No. XXI.

To Miss Mercer.

CALLCUTTA,
4th December 1784.

My Dr. Annie

I received yours dated Nov. '83. I have had a long trip up the country which I have wrote my father of, and returned to Callcutta the beginning of last month. I was six months at Lucknow which was formerly a very rich place, but is now very much exhausted, there are still however, the remains of grandeur. Three months of the year a hott wind blows that takes off the skin wherever it touches, there is no going out, but by means of roots of grass made into skreens which are putt before the doors and windows and kept constantly wett, the air is rendered as cooll as you could wish, at the same time that out of the house, the wind would roast an egg, and all the people crowd round the skreens to cooll themselves as you do round a fire in winter to warm yourselves, however, these winds blow only up the country, and not in Callcutta and very little in Patna where Laurence lives very happily. I came down from Lucknow by watter which is much the pleasantest mode of travelling in this country. Laurence's house is on the side of the Ganges and a very pleasant situation. I goott a present from Mrs. Hastings of a bottle of otre of roses, which is the best this country can produce. As I know you are an economist I shall send it you by Martin Lindsay, and it will serve you for perfume until I come home which will probably be eight or ten years hence. This is the pleasantest season here there is nothing but private and Public Balls going on. I am five days in the week in Callcutta and two at the Governor's Gardens, which is about four miles from twon, and from whence I now write it is a delightfull situation. The

amusements of a day are these, at break of day we gett a horseback ride untill the sun rises, go to breakfast about half past six dine at two, lay down on a couch about four where we take a nap untill the sun setts, then everyone gets out in carriages for a little fresh air, come home dress, amuse yourself by dancing, paying visits, cards, chess &c. &c. There are only four months in which the climate admits of dancing *viz.*, Nov. to the end of February. As to the consequences of the present Governor's removal to Laurie and myself Laurence has a fixed appointment which they cannot alter without his deserving it, as to your humble servant, if the Governor's successor is upon any terms with him, he must provide for his family, in short I think I shall be able to gett something happen what will. Let me hear from you as often as opportunity offers. Give my love to Hannah and the rest of the family and Believe me Your Affectionate Brother.

(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

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LETTER XXII.

The *Berrington* arrived at Plymouth on 15 June. Hastings was accompanied on his voyage by his friends David Anderson, (who had negotiated the treaty of Salbai with the Mahrattas in 1782), and Col. Sweny Toone, the first commandant of the Body Guard (who was subsequently a Director of the Company from 1800 to 1830): and also by his medical attendant Dr. Clement Francis, his Aid-de-Camp. Capt. William Sands, Capt. Jonathan Scott (the brother of Major Scott Waring, his agent in England) and John Shore (the future Governor General).

No. XXII.

To Miss Mercer.

On board the *Berrington*
below CALCUTTA,
Feby. 5th 1785.

My Dr. Annie

Although I have no news of you I must write as I have so good an opportunity. I am sorry Mr. Hastings has at last determined to go home. I left Calcutta with him on the first of the month, and he is now on board the *Berrington* on his way to Europe. He will be much missed here, he is the pleasantest man I ever lived with. I shall return to Calcutta as soon as the ship sails which I suppose will be to-morrow. Had Mr. Hastings remained in this country I should probably have been enabled to return home a few years sooner than I now expect, however I like the country very well and have not had an hour's illness since I arrived in it so I have no reason to complain.

* * * * *

No. XXIII.

To Wm. Mercer Esq.

On Board the *Berrington*,
Feb. 5th 1785.

My Dr. Father

I am now on the most unpleasant trip I have had since I came to India, which is attending Mr. Hastings, who is now on Board of Ship in his way to Europe. He disapproves so much of Mr. Pitt's Bill, that he determined not to remain in India for its arrival. This country has lost in him the best friend it ever saw. His leaving Callcutta was the most solemn scene I ever beheld, he is universally regretted by Black and White, he will have arrived in England by the time you receive this, as it goes by the *Berrington*. Mr. Macpherson is left Governor here, but I suppose we shall have another appointed as soon as Mr. Hastings' resignation is known. The minds of people here are much exasperated by Mr. Pitt's Bill, taking it for granted that every one in India commences Vill—n (? villainy) as soon as he arrives. Laurence is perfectly well at Patna, there have been considerable reductions made here but they have not affected him. Direct for me still at Callcutta I do not know yett whether Mr. Macpherson will appoint me one of his Aid-de-Camps or not. I shall write you again in the course of three weeks or a month, when things are more settled. I shall return to Callcutta as soon as the ship sails, we are now about a Hundred miles below Callcutta at a place called Sagor Island.

* * * * *

No. XXIV.

To Miss Mercer.

CALLCUTTA,
August 6th 1785.

My Dr. Annie

I received yours of August '84. From your last letters from home we expect Graeme here' in the course of this season, although prospects are not so flattering as they were a while ago, yett we shall manage to gett on somehow or other. I have built a small house about four miles from Callcutta, where I live very retired, I have gott a room for Graeme whenever he chuses to take possession of it.

* * * * *

amusements of a day are these, at break of day we gett a horseback ride untill the sun rises, go to breakfast about half past six dine at two, lay down on a couch about four where we take a nap untill the sun setts, then everyone getts out in carriages for a little fresh air, come home dress, amuse yourself by dancing, paying visits, cards, chess &c. &c. There are only four months in which the climate admits of dancing *viz.*, Nov. to the end of February. As to the consequences of the present Governor's removal to Laurie and myself Laurence has a fixed appointment which they cannot alter without his deserving it, as to your humble servant, if the Governor's successor is upon any terms with him, he must provide for his family, in short I think I shall be able to gett something happen what will. Let me hear from you as often as opportunity offers. Give my love to Hannah and the rest of the family and Believe me Your Affectionate Brother.

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No. XXIV.

To Miss Mercer.

CALLCUTTA,
August 6th 1785.

My Dr. Annie

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* * * * *

LETTER XXV.

The *Hinchinbroke*, Capt. Arthur Maxwell, was "lost in the Bengal river" on April 10, 1785.

"The late Act of Parliament—Pitt's India Act of 1784, which established the Board of Control and deprived the Court of Directors of Political power, setting up a Committee of Secrecy of three Directors through whom all important communications to the Board were sent. This Act was the ultimate cause of Hastings' resignation: "I have seen read and abstracted it", he wrote to Major Scott Waring, his agent in England, on 27 December 1784, "and it has determined me." "The Great Retrenchments that have taken place." John Macpherson who acted as Governor-General from 8 February until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis on 12 September 1785, effected some financial economies chiefly in the reduction of salaries. But Cornwallis went very much further. He forbade the Civil Servants of the Company from engaging in private trade, and restricted them to the receipt of a fixed private salary. In one case, that of the Resident at Benares, these extra emoluments amounted to four lakhs of rupees a year.

No. XXV.

To *Wm. Mercer Esq.*

CALLCUTTA,
August 7th 1785.

My Dr. Father

I wrote you a long letter by the *Hinchinbroke*, but she was lost going out of the river. This Government has been in a very unsettled state ever since Mr. Hastings left it. A few days since Lord Macartney's appointment of Governor-General arrived here, but it is not thought he will accept of it, and that he will proceed to Europe in the *Swallow* which leaves this in a few days, it is to be determined this day in Council. The late Act of Parliament has occasioned a great noise in this country, and there is a petition preparing against it. From the great retrenchments that have taken place here lately, the minds of men are dissatisfied, and not much disposed to bear the reproach of delinquent &c. &c., when they have scarcely sufficient left to live upon. I shall send Mr. Dempster the proceedings of the meeting, as it may enable him to form a judgement of the probable consequences here. I am much in the same situation as when I wrote you last a Lieut. of the Governor's Troop. I live mostly in the country about four miles from Callcutta, where I find it cheaper having nothing to do in town.

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No. XXVI.

To his brother, James Mercer.

August 12th. (1785.)

70 miles below CALLCUTTA.

My Dear James

When you write me Direct to me Governor General's Troop, since Mr. Hastings left this, I am no longer Aid-de-Camp but I remain in the Troop. I came down here with Mr. Stables to see Lord Macartney on Board the *Swallow*, and they will sail tomorrow, I shall return to Callcutta in three or four days.

* * * * *

No. XXVII.

To Miss Mercer.

CALLCUTTA,

Novr. 12th 1786.

My Dear Annie

Graeme arrived here in perfect health. I went up with him to Patna, where I left him with Laurence, they are both well. Graeme can do nothing for himself here untill he is appointed in the service. The people here say that Graeme is very like what I was when I came out, *entre nous* I think I look tollerably well. I am sure I am in as good health as ever, and as to the rest I am not very anxious.

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No. XXVIII.

To Miss Mercer.

Eighty miles bellow Callcutta,

Jany. 16th 1787.

Dear Annie

I am now going down the River to see Mr. Stables on Board the *Talbot* on his way to England. I have lived with him almost entirely since Mr. Hastings left this and I am very sorry to part with so good a friend.

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 No. XXIX.

To Miss Mercer.

CALLCUTTA,
March 6th 1787.

The Governor, Lord Cornwallis, proposes going up the country in July next, and I suppose the Body Guard will attend him, in which event, I shall have the pleasure of meeting Laurence and Graeme at Patna and shall probably be absent from home five or six months.

* * * * *

 LETTER XXX.

MRS. CHAMPION.—Anna Forbes married Joseph Champion, writer on the Bengal establishment, at Calcutta on May, 12, 1780, and died at that place on October 22, 1791, aged 28 years.

 No. XXX.

To Miss Mercer.

CALLCUTTA,
Decr. 22nd 1788.

My Dear Annie

As we are all together at present, and trusting to each other writing, may not write at all, I shall therefore just give you a short account of the alteration that has taken place since I wrote you last. Give my love to our Mother, and tell her, I was married on the 6th of November to a Miss Forbes, a Scotts lassie from Banff, she is a very pleasant good little girl. Lord Cornwallis has acted in the most Honorable manner to Laurence, who stands very high in his opinion. His Lordship has appointed Laurence Collector of Burdwan, merely from his character and without any application from him, he has also appointed Graeme to the Service, in short we are all as happy as we can be at such a distance from our friends. Laurence goes to Burdwan in three or four days and Graeme goes up with him in the meantime. We have now gott so near each other, that we can be frequently together, Burdwan is but eighty miles from Calcutta, which we thing nothing of in this country. My little wife desires her love to you, she is Daughter to a Mrs. Forbes of Gask Banff, and was living with her Sister Mrs. Champion. Should you meet with

any of the Family, who are very numerous, I need scarcely ask you to shew them attention.

Belliev me ever
your Affecte. Brother
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

No. XXXI.

To Miss Mercer.

CALLCUTTA,
8th March 1789.

My Dear Annie

I write you merely because this goes by the last ship of the season, but a packett will be despatched in August. Laurence is at Burdwan we shall go up to him in a few days to spend a month or two of the hot weather with him, and return here in the month of May, soon after which we shall expect George's arrival with Capt. Dempster. Graeme is at present with us attending the General Hospital. I wrote you before that his Lordship had appointed him to the Service in Jany. last. I wrote you before of my marriage, she is an excellent good girl and we live very happy, and very retired, neither of us being fond of publick places we have not been to one this season. A brother of Barbara's Mr. John Forbes lives at Hawthornden near Edinburgh.

No. XXXII.

To Miss Mercer.

CALLCUTTA,
November 1st 1789.

My Dear Annie

I wrote you by the *Swallow* packett which left this on the 20th of August, and on the 26th your sister was safely delivered of a son, the mother and boy are quite well and write in love to our Mother and you all. Laurence came down here on the 10th of October, and he agreeing with me in wishing to call my little boy, after our Blessed father, he was accordingly christened William on the 17th October. Laurence and Jonathan Ducan were his God-fathers, the two first Characters I think in India, if he follows the steps of either I shall be perfectly satisfied. . . . Graeme's situation at present is a good one, Surgeon to the Embassy at the Nizam's Court, it is not likely to be permanent, however his own abilities and the universal esteem he is held in will ever insure him some good situation.

No. XXXIII.

*To Mrs. Mercer.*CALCUTTA,
Novr. 6th 1789.

My Dearest Mother

I am sure it will give you great satisfaction to know that Laurence's situation is an excellent one, and that he is universally respected, and in great favour with his Lordship. Graeme's present appointment much beyond his expectation, and that his Lordship has declared his intention to serve me as soon as an opportunity offers. In short(there are few families can boast the same countenance, shewn to them as we have under the present Government. Laurence's principles, you know will prevent his ever making a shilling that he cannot avow in the face of the world. He at present saves at least a Thousand Pounds a year. . . . Barbara joins me in Sincere Love and Esteem for our Mother and I am ever.

your Affecte. Son.

(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

No. XXXIV.

*To Miss Mercer.*BURDWAN,
August 1st. 1790

My Dear Annie

Graeme is still at the Nizam's Court the appointment at Burdwan is still kept vacant for him, but I hope he will remain some time where he is, as his allowances are good, and an Army is the best school for practice. We have been here with Laurence since the beginning of April and intend returning home about the end of September. As to my own situation, it is by no means splendid, but as I Believe his Lordship is inclined to serve me, and the War will detain him another year in this Country, it is possible something may occur in that time. I am more anxious for it now, as I should like to have something to leave to my little boy. As there has been an order sent out here lately to send home all people, who have quite their ships in this country, if Tom cannot get permission from the Court of Directors to come out in an English ship, he had better come out in a Foreign Ship. Very lucky for Graeme, the order does not go so far back as '86 otherwise he would have found a difficulty in escaping.

LETTER XXXV.

The First Mysore War (1767-1769) and the Second Mysore War (1781-1785) having failed to check the growing power of Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo Sultan. Lord Cornwallis resolved to conduct operations in person. The immediate cause of the third Mysore War was the invasion by Tippoo, in December 1789, of the territories of the Rajah of Travancore. Sir William Medows, the Governor of Fort St. George, commenced hostilities in Coimbatore and Dindigul but the results were indecisive. Cornwallis who had previously arranged for the Co-operation of the Mahrattas and the Nizam of the Hyderabad, arrived accordingly in Madras with a considerable reinforcement on 12 December 1790.

The Body Guard embarked at Diamond Harbour on 24 and 25 December, 1790, on board the *Casamajor*. On 16 January 1791 the vessel was obliged to put in at Vizagapatam for water: and arrived at Madras three days later.

No. XXXV.

To Miss Mercer.

12th Novr. 1790.

My Dear Annie

After spending six months very pleasantly at Burdwan, we left it on the 12th of last month, and have been since very snug at the Gardens, but we are now on the move again. His Lordship not approving entirely of the management of the War on the Coast, has resolved to proceed to Madras, and we are under orders to be ready to embark, about the end of the month. My little Wifey, not being accustomed to a separation, is a little low on the occasion. I have however convinced her that it is the best thing that can happen to me, and her good sense will assist her in getting the better of it. I have written to Laurence to request he would come down and carry away his sister, and little William up to Burdwan, where they will remain during my absence, and my mind will be more at ease when they are under Laurence's protection than any where else. Indeed I am very happy in having such a house to leave her in. Laurence has some symptoms of the Gout hanging about him, and he has left of wine for some time, since which he has been much better. Graeme is still with the Resident at the Nizam's Court, and continues to enjoy perfect health. I hope we shall see George next season, and should like to know what ship he is to come out in. I suppose we shall be at least six or eight months absent from Bengal, and possibly a longer time. You may suppose I do not much like the idea of parting with Barbara and William, but a soldier must not give way to these feelings, and I shall enjoy their company the more on my return, and Laurence who is very partial to them will show them every attention in his power. It is very lucky for me and for them too that I have such a Brother to send them to.

LETTER XXXVI.

The third Mysore War opened before the arrival of Lord Cornwallis with an action at Satyamangalam on September 13, 1790. Siege was laid to Bangalore on March 6, 1791, and the town was taken on March 21. This was followed by the battle of Arikera on May 14. The siege of the hillfort of Nandidrug was begun on September 22, and the place capitulated on October 18. Penagra, in the Baramahal, was stormed on October 31: but Colonel Maxwell failed on November 8 to seize Krishnagiri. Severndrug, or Savandrug, a stupendous rock-fortress 4,000 feet above sea level, was, however captured in December: and Hutridrug, or Utradrug, was taken by escalade on the 24th of the same month. Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo, was next invested and on February 19, 1792, the Sultan sued for peace. This he was compelled to purchase by the surrender of half his dominions, the payment of over three millions of rupees, the release of all prisoners, and the delivery of two of his sons, Moiz-ud-din and Abd-ul-Khalik, as hostages. The last clause in the treaty furnished several artists with a subject for a painting. Mercer, as we shall see from Letter XXXVIII. was obliged by bad health to return to Bengal at the end of 1791.

Venkatigiri—Stands at the foot of the Venkatagiri-Amboor Ghat or pass leading to Bangalore. Amboor or Amboorghur is a fortified hill. It was visited in April 1792 by the artists Thomas Daniell and his nephew William.

No. XXXVI.

To Miss Mercer.

Camp at VINKETTIGHERRY,

(VENKATAGIRI)

near AMBOOR.

(Undated: probably between 18th & 22nd
April, 1791.)

My Dear Annie

We have now been in the Field near three months, we have taken Bangalore, the second place in strength in Tippoo's dominions, and are now preparing to proceed to the Capital Seringapatam, which we hope to get possession of before the setting in of the rains, they begin in June. I have no idea as yet when I shall gett back to Bengal. I write this to have the pleasure of informing you that I had a letter this morning from Tom, dated Madrass April 14th. . . . As I am busy preparing for a long march, it will plead my apology for the shortness of this.

LETTER XXXVII.

The following is an extract from a letter written by his brother Thomas, dated Benares, 13th March, 1792.

After alluding to the war with Tippoo Sultan he writes :—

“His Lordship’s life has been often in danger. William had once the good fortune to save him by cutting down three of Tippoo’s Coolies (? *Looties*) who rushed in upon the Body Guard and aimed at his Lordship. William has got great credit for his conduct in this particular but whether or not it will be of any material service to him, a short time will determine.”

The occurrence took place on 5 March, 1791, at Bangalore. Two or three of the enemy’s cavalry, drugged with *bhang*, approached unseen and made a sudden rush at the Governor-General and his staff. The men were instantly surrounded : one was wounded, and the other two sieged.

OUSOORE OR HOSUR : now in the Salem district of the Madras Presidency and formerly a place of military importance from the fact that it commands all lines of communication between the twelve (*bara*) forts in the Baramahal and Mysore. It is 25 miles by road from Bangalore on the N. W. The fort which lies to the west of the town, was given up by Tippoo’s troops to the British under Major Cowdie on July 15, 1791. When it was visited by Thomas and William Daniell in May 1792, it was occupied by a small British force under Capt. Chase : but it was subsequently handed back to Tippoo.

No. XXXVII.

To Mrs. Duncan (*nee Miss Mercer*).

Camp near OUSOORE.

August 4th 1791.

My Dear Annie

Last night I received a letter from James of the 29th Jany. and I take the first opportunity to congratulate you on your marriage with Mr. Duncan. Tell James I shall write him when we take Seringapatam which I hope will be before the end of the year. I shall be very happy when the War is over, that I may be able to return to Bengal. Your Sister lost her little boy on the 31st March, which distressed her very much. I had a letter yesterday from Tom at Burdwan, Laurence is in good health, I hear constantly from Graeme who is still with the Nizam. I wrote you from Madrass and sent Graeme’s picture to Hannah. Ever since that time we have been fighting and starving, but we have however been successful in all our attempts, the accounts of which I must refer you to the papers for. We are now preparing to attack the Enemy’s Capital Seringapatam, but the season will not admitt of our advancing until the month of November. We are at present near Oussore about 180 miles to the Westward of Madrass. I expect to have several letters from you by the

ships of this season, as no change of state will be any apology to me for not hearing from you. I am My Dear Annie

Yours every Affecty.
(Sd.) WM. MERCER.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Laurence Mercer died at Burdwan on August 20, 1791. In spite of the intention expressed by William Mercer in this letter, he disposed subsequently of the Pottershill.

No. XXXVIII.

To Mr. Beveridge.

CALCUTTA
Jany. 17th 1792.

My Dear Sir

The unfortunate Death of my Brother Laurence makes it necessary for me to request you will be kind enough to act as my Attorney, jointly with Mr. Duncan and Mr. Paton. In case of any accident happening to me, it is my intention to leave Potterhill to Mrs. Mercer for her life. Bad health obliged me to leave the Army but as I am now perfectly recovered, I shall join the Army again as soon as an opportunity offers, but as they have taken Swandroog, a strong Hill fort, on the road to Seringapatam, I fancy they will immediately proceed to the Capital, in which event, I shall not be able to join until September next.

I am Dear Sir
yours sincerely
(Sd.) WM. MERCER.

Please to Direct to Lieut. Mercer
Govr. Gen.'s Body Guard
Calcutta.

* * * * *

No. XXXIX.

To Mr. Duncan.

CALCUTTA
Jany. 17th 1792.

My Dear Sir

The unexpected death of poor Laurence, and my own bad health which obliged me to leave the Army has prevented my writting you until now. Accept of my hearty Congratulations on your change of state. I am now so perfectly recovered, that I shall join the Army again, the moment

there is an opportunity. Swandroog a strong Hill fort about 80 miles from Bangalore and seventy from Seringapatam, was taken by them on the 21st December, and the Army will now proceed I fancy for the Capital, in which event, I shall not be able to join them before the month of September next. Although it is not a pleasant thing to part with a Wife still we Soldiers must do our duty. It is possible however the War may be finished by that time. . . . Mrs. Mercer joins me in wishing you and yours health and happiness and I am

My Dear Sir
Yours Affecty.
(Sd.) WM. MERCER.

No. XL.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CALCUTTA
Jany. 18th 1792.

My Dear Annie

I have written Mr. Duncan concerning poor Laurence's affairs, as far as I know them yett. Since my return to Bengal I have gott quite well, and must therefore think of returning to the Coast aga'n as soon as possible. Tom is at Benares with Mr. Duncan, and will I hope by his Assistance gett into some line there. George is still with us, and will gett a Birth as second Mate of the *Benares* when she goes to sea. Graeme is with the Nizam's Army, and by this time he has joined Lord Cornwallis, so we have all at least something in view.

* * * * *

No. XLI.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CALCUTTA
Feby. 21st 1792.

My Dear Annie

. . . . Graeme is well and has joined the Grand Army, and they are by this time attacking Seringapatam, the capture of which I hope will put an end to the War. Should it not, I will return to the Army I only wait his Lordship's orders, as I am now perfectly recovered. Nothing could make me so happy, as the probability of being able to spend the latter part of my days with you, I shall be satisfied with a competency, and we must hope for the best. Your sister is a good economist and will make a little go a great way.

* * * * *

LETTER XLII.

"They had an Action on the 6th Feby. at Seringapatam."—Lord Cornwallis encamped with his army on February 5, 1791, six miles to the N. of Seringapatam, and was joined by the main portion of the contingent sent by the Nizam of Hyderabad. On February 6 he determined to attack: and dividing his troops into three columns at night, succeeded after severe fighting in securing possession of the ford over the river Cauvery and in establishing him on the eastern part of the island on which Seringapatam is situated. On February 19, arrangements were made for an attack on both banks of the Cauveri. The Sultan's troops were driven back, and Tippoo on the 22nd sent envoys to the British camp.

No. XLII.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CALCUTTA
March 11th 1792.

My Dear Annie

Although nothing new has occurred since I wrote you, as I promised to write you by the last ship I must perform. They had an Action on the 6th Feby. at Seringapatam, in which we lost a number of officers and men, but gained a complete victory. Peter Stewart the Provost's son was killed, he was a very good fellow. Graeme was not in the Action, his duty confined him to the Camp. I have not yet received his Lordship's orders but expect them in the course of a few days, which will determine my returning to the Army or not. I think it is most probable I shall about the month of June or July, nothing but an end being put to the War can prevent it as I am now quite well.

* * * * *

P.S. I have just received a letter from his Lordship, saying that matters are come to such a Crisis, that they must be finished before I can possibly join, and therefore he does not wish to put me to the inconvenience or expense of returning to the Army, as he hopes to be himself in Bengal in the course of a few months, so I shall remain quietly in Bengal.

Yours ever
(Sd.) W. M.

No. XLIII.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CALCUTTA

August 17th 1792.

My Dear Annie

Graeme is at present at Hyderabad. Tom is with Mr. Duncan at Benares, George is with us. Lord Cornwallis, after having settled everything on the Coast, arrived in Bengal on the 27th July in good health.

* * * * *

August 20th.

You will have accounts, long before you receive this of the War being at an end here. So far from Graeme or I reaping any pecuniary advantage from it, that although I lived at Lord Cornwallis's table, and of course had no expense on that account, it cost me near £500 extra expense. But I have reason to Believe, that his Lordship means to do something for me, before he leaves this. I have now been ten years expecting the same thing, and by this time have learnt to bear disappointments with patience. This is a very good country, but still not a home, and I should have very little pleasure in it, did I not still expect one day to be able to visit Pottershill, and your Sister is still more anxious to get home than I am. However I can assure you the moment I can ensure, anything like a competence I shall be impatient to cross the Bridge of Perth. You will see Mark Wood home this season, with a large fortune.

* * * * *

LETTER XLIV.

George Mercer (1772-1853) became an indigo-planter and manufacturer after leaving the Sea Service (see Letter LII). He returned to England in 1818, and bought the estate of Gorthy in Perthshire: and in 1837 went to Australia, where he was joined by his nephew William Drummand Mercer (see introduction), and engaged in business. On 12 September, 1810, he married Frances Charlotte Reid, the daughter of John Reid, a Surgeon on the Bengal establishment, and Ann Boileau, daughter of Simson Boileau of Dublin. Their son George Duncan Mercer (1814-1884) held a commission in the Bengal Army from, 1833 to 1838 when he joined his father in Australia. Ann Mercers' three brothers were in the company's service: Lestock Robert Reid (1790-1878), Bombay Civil Service 1817-1850 and member of Council at that Presidency: Henry Soloman Reid (1792-1852) lieutenant 17th Bengal Infantry: and Charles Samuel Reid (1807-1876), Lieut.-General, Bengal Artillery. Mr. Laurence Mercer, C.I.E. the son of George Duncan Mercer, served in the Indian Forest Department from 1886 to 1918, and was president of the Research College at Dehra-Dun.

No. XLIV.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CALCUTTA,

25th December 1792.

Graeme after passing three months with us here, left this on the 12th on his return to his station, at Hyderabad. Tom is very well, and seems very well satisfied with his situation, which promises very fair to be an advantageous one in the course of a few years, which is more than I can say of my own, as I have little hopes of getting anything at present, and my allowances are but a mere subsistence. George is gone to Madrass 3rd officer of the *Success Galley*, belonging to the Nabob of Arcott.

* * * * *

LETTER XLV.

MR. TURNER.—Samuel Turner, a cousin of Warren Hastings on the mother's side, was appointed ensign in the Bengal Infantry in 1780 and shortly afterwards aide-de-Camp to Hastings, accompanying him on his visit to Benares in 1781, and his subsequent flight to Chunar. In 1782 he was given the command of the Body Guard: but in the year following was sent on an embassy to Tibet from which he returned in March 1784. On 30 January 1797, while still in command of the Body Guard he obtained permission to proceed to Europe: and Capt. Charles Fraser was directed to take charge of the Body Guard on 1 March 1797. He died in London on 2, January 1801 of a paralytic seizure: when according to the obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* he had returned to England "about two years ago". As Fraser was not definitely appointed to command the Body Guard until 18 March 1799, it is possible that Turner went to Europe, returned to Calcutta and left finally in March 1799.

The Hon. CHARLES STUART—a son of Lord Bute: arrived in Calcutta in 1762 and appointed Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in 1769. In 1770 he was nominated as one of the first twelve Supervisors and was Resident at Burdwan in 1772. He assumed office as Member of the Supreme Council on February 28, 1785 and resigned on January 21, 1793, when he was succeeded by Thomas Graham (writer 1769).

Capt. JOHN ULRIC COLLINS.—joined the Bengal Infantry as an ensign in July 1769: promoted to be captain in May 1780, major in 1794, Lieut.-colonel in July 1796, and colonel in May 1800. From 1795 to 1803 he was Resident at the Court of Daulat Rao Sindhia: and in 1806 was appointed Resident at the Court of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, in succession to Col. William Scott. He died at Lucknow on 11 June, 1807. On 24 November 1790 he married at Calcutta Charlotte Wrangham, daughter of William

Wrangham, member of Council at St. Helena (see letter IV). The nickname of "King" Collins was given to him on account of his "Cold, imperious and overbearing manner." His tomb is in the old Protestant cemetery at Aminabad (Lucknow).

JAMES COSMO GORDON—was Town-Major of Fort William and Aide-de-Camp to the Hon. Charles Stuart, member of Council. He died at Calcutta on 31 December, 1792.

WILLIAM LARKINS—Accountant-General at the Presidency, was an intimate friend of Hastings whose portrait by Romney he presented to the East India Company. It now hangs: in the Council-chamber at the India Office. He returned to Europe in the *Earl Talbot*, after twenty one years' service in Bengal, and died at Blackheath on 24 April 1800.

ARCHIBALD MONTGOMERIE—married on 10 May 1781 Maria Chantry, who is mentioned in some verses in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* as one of the subjects of a current Calcutta toast to "The Five Girls who grace India's Soil." The other four were Emma Wrangham (who married John Bristow), Nancy Sadlier (Mrs. Bruere), Eliza Crisp (Lady Shee) and an unidentified Miss H—d. When Mrs. Eliza Fay met Maria Chantry in Calcutta in December 1780, she was staying with Dr. Rowland Jackson, physician to the Company." Her son, Archibald Montgomerie junior died in Bengal on 31 January 1826 when "Commanding the Boglepore Hill Rangers." His uncle Alexander Montgomerie, commanded the *Bessborough* Indiaman from 1777 to 1788, and the *Bombay Castle* in 1793-1794.

MAJOR WILLIAM PALMER—was another of Hastings intimate friends. He acted as his Military Secretary for several years until he became Resident at Lucknow in 1782. From 1794 to 1798 he was Resident with Scindia and from 1798 to 1801 at Poona. Subsequently he commanded at Monghyr and Berhampore and died at the latter place on 20 May 1816. There is an unfinished picture by Zoffony at the India Office which represents him with his Indian wife—Bibi Faiz Bakhsh—and his younger children—one of whom was the famous "King" Palmer of Hyderabad, the father-in-law of Meadows Taylor.

No. XLV.

To Warren Hastings Esq.

CALCUTTA,
25th January 1793.

Dear Sir

I hope by the time you receive this there will be an end to the persecutions and cruelties which politicks of a party have involved you in, and that a most honorable acquittal with the entire approbation of the disinterested part of mankind and the favour of your Sovereign will in some measure make amends for what you have suffered. During the time Mr. Turner and I were together I trusted to him informing you of what passed in this country,

Mr. Turner has been for some time past at Lucknow purchasing horses to remount the Body Guard having delivered over our horses to the Cavalry when we left the Coast. He is now gone to - - - (illegible ? Jamighur) for the same purpose. Lord Cornwallis' new Regulations for the Civil Service are not yet published. I understand Sudder Courts of Odawlatt are to be established in each District to which appoints are to be made from the Provincial Judges. They are also to go Circuits through their Districts twice in the year. The Collectors are to have a fixed Sallary and no Judicial authority. The Salt Comptrolorship to be abolished, the Salt Department to be put under the Board of Trade.

Lord Cornwallis will return to Europe, in the course of this year or as soon as his successor is appointed. Mr. Stuart goes home by this Ship, the *Melville Castle*, he gave in his resignation on the 21st and Mr. Graham took his seat in Council. I still remain in the same situation which you did me the Honor of appointing me to, on my first arrival in this country, and I am now applying to get recommended or appointed to succeed Capt. Collins as Agents for Military Stores.

Permitt me to request, that you would again Honor me, with your countenance and support on this occasion, which would give me great confidence of success. Your former favors are the only apologies I can plead, for troubling you with this application.

Lieut. James Gordon, who was recommended by the Court of Directors to succeed Captn. Collins Died here the end of last month.

Mr. Larkins and Mr. Montgomery return to Europe this season. Major Palmer continues well and is still with Scindiah. It would appear presumption in me to enter into the politicks of this country, when the gentlemen who go home this year, and the numerous friends you have still here are so much better able.

I beg leave to present my respectfull Compliments to Mrs. Hastings, and I have the Honor to be,

Dear Sir
your most Obedt. Servant
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

No. XLVI.

To Mrs. Duncan.

December 1793.

George is gone up to settle with Tom where there is every prospect of his doing well. Graeme is with us, he is not determined whether he shall remain in Bengal or return again to Hyderabad, I hope the former.

* * * * *

No. XLVII.

*To Miss Mercer.*CALCUTTA,
Dec. 1st 1793.

My Dear Hannah

We have been residing in Calcutta these four months, as we found the Gardens damp, during the rains. House rent is very extravagant here, I pay at the rate of £300 a year for the House we are now in. We had a Scots party on Christmas day, and danced for three hours to a Bagpipe.

Jan. 2nd. 1794. I went last night to the New Years Ball where there was near three hundred people, and the night as cold as you could wish it.

LETTER XLVIII.

DAVID SCOTT.—Director of the East India Company from 1793 to 1801 and again from 1814 to 1819: Chairman in 1796, and 1801, created a Baronet in 1819.

LORD DUNSINNON and LORD SWINTON.—Judges of the Scottish Court of Session. John (Lord) Swinton (died 6 January 1799) was a brother of Capt. Archibald Swinton (see Letter XIX). His son Col. William Swinton (1784-1853) served in the Bengal Army from 1799 to 1831, and was the father of Robert Blair Swinton (1829-1912), Madras Civil Service 1849-1874.

STEWART—Perhaps the Hon. Charles Stuart (see Letter XLV).

CAPT. SAMUEL TURNER, the commandant of the Body Guard, did not apply for permission to return to Europe until 30 January, 1797, nearly three years after this letter was written. The exact date of his departure is, however uncertain: his successor was not definitely appointed until 18 March 1799 (see Letter XLIV).

No. XLVIII.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*CALCUTTA,
May 15th 1794.

I received a letter from Mr. David Scott to whom I applied for his interest, in getting appointed to succeed Capt. Collins. He says Lord Dunsinnon had applied to him in my favour, but the object was Beyond his mark, it certainly cannot be effected by any one individual, but may be by the joint interest of the number I have applied to. I should wish Lord Dunsinnon to be informed of the gratitude I feel for the Honor he has done me.

Could he and Lord Swinton be prevailed on to speak to Mr. Dundass, it might have great effect. If Mr. Hastings, Mr. Stables, and Mr. Stewart interest themselves in my favour, I should have little doubt of succeeding. I have some reason to hope, that the Duke of Gordon, through Mrs. M's friends may be applied to. Graeme is safely settled at Benares, I heard from him yesterday, he, Tom and George are perfectly well and doing well. I intend going to pay them a visit in the rains, and shall return to Calcutta about November in time to settle everything with Mr. Turner. He is to resign in December. Your sister is in good health and little Ann a fine stout child, she gott the small pox very easily, her Nurse took the infection from the child and Died of them.

* * * * *

LETTER XLIX.

SIR JOHN SHORE—succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General on 28 October 1793 and sailed for Europe on 12 March 1798. He was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Teignmouth. As a subordinate official he was eminently successful: as a Governor-General he had the candour to acknowledge his own incompetence. "The fact is" he wrote on 9 March 1796, in a letter published in the first volume of his biography, "that the duties of my situation are too much, I fear, for me. Often have I wished that Lord Cornwallis were hear at the head of the administration, and that I were his co-adjutor, as formerly."

No. XLIX.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CALCUTTA GARDENS,
Jan. 1st 1795.

. . . . Mr. Turner has in a very unhandsome manner delayed his resigning until Feby. although I have a written engagement from his to resign in December. It is not my interest to quarrel with him so I must put up with it in the mean time. Lady Shore arrived here last month, which will keep Sir John at least another year in India. I have just now Recd. a Note from Mr. Turner which gives me reason to doubt his going home this season, and will force me to prosecute him for damages, for his breach of engagement.

No. L.

To Miss Mercer.

CALCUTTA,
August 25th 1795.

. . . . My present income, will not allow of the smallest increase of expense. You will scarce believe me when I tell you that with an income

of £500 a year it is with the greatest economy, I can manage to support my family, decently. The enormous number of servants kept by everybody here, will in some measure account for it, mine which you will laugh at, when I say they are moderate, are above fifty, which costs me half my income, indeed they are the principal extravagant article. Here the table expenses, except wine are moderate, and as to Europe milinery &c. for the ladies, I thank God I know little about them, as your Sister makes everything for her own use. Children are expensive articles here, what with Midwives, Doctors, Christenings &c. they cost £100 by the time they are six months old. I mention these things to give you some idea of our expenses here, and I assure you, that I keep rather under than over the mark.

No. LI.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CALCUTTA,
November 12th 1795.

I have no comfortable accounts to give you of my own situation. I have met with most cruel and unjust treatment, and although the Governor has promised me the first good appointment that becomes vacant, I have very little confidence in the promises of great men.

LETTER LII.

In the East India Register for 1798, Graeme Mercer, is shown as doing duty as assistant Surgeon at Benares: Thomas Mercer as "agent and indigo manufacturer" at Mirzapore, and George Mercer as carrying on the same occupation at "Haudeaabad."

No. LII.

To Mrs. Duncan.

GARDENS CALCUTTA,
March 8th 1796.

Graeme, Tom and George are all well. Tom resides at Mirzapore, about forty miles above Benares, Graeme at Benares, and George about thirty miles below Benares. The last season was unfavourable for their indigo, but I trust and hope the present one will make ample amends.

No. LIII.

To Miss Mercer.

CALCUTTA,
May 6th 1796.

The new Arrangements for the Army arrived here some days since. The Body Guard, the Command of which I have been so long ex-

pecting, is ordered to be reduced. I am still in hopes I may get some good appointment. I am uncertain yet whether I shall get a step by the new Arrangements or not.

No. LIV.

To Mrs. Duncan.

MOORSHEDABAD,
190 miles above Calcutta,
July 2nd 1796.

My Dear Annie

By the new Arrangement of the Army here I have got the Brevet rank of Captn., and the Governor-General's Body Guard being reduced, the Commander in Chief Sir Robbert Abercrombie has appointed me Quarter Master to the 2nd Regt. of Cavalry which is at present at Cawnpore, eleven hundred miles from Calcutta, which I left on the 22nd June on my way to join that Regiment, and have got so far on our way. We go by water. Our crew consists of the Captn. and Mrs. Mercer the two young ones three women servants and about fifty men servants. We have our Pinnace like a small yacht, a Budgeroe smaller, and three bagage boats. I had a great desire to send Annie home this season, but this move will put it out of my power for a year to two to come, when I hope to be able to send her and Eliza at the same time.

LETTER LV.

William Mercer was appointed to the 2nd Bengal Native Cavalry as Quartermaster in June 1796 (as stated in Letter LIV). He was then posted to the 1st Cavalry in the same capacity and remained with that regiment until May 1800, when he was transferred as captain to the newly raised 5th Cavalry.

No. LV.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CAWNPORE,
(Undated. Written during
April, 1797).

I am now situated at Cawnpore about a thousand miles above Calcutta. I have the command of a Troop of Cavalry, and Quarter Master to the 2nd Regt. Mrs. M. was brought to bed of a Son on the 16th Octr. at Graeme's at Benares, where I was obliged to leave her, when I came up here, and she and Annie came up here on the 1st of December. I have no letter from James this long time, when you see him or write to him, tell him it would be worth while to pay a good price for the rank of Lt. Colonel in a

Regt. in Bengal. The allowances are handsome, and would soon repay the sum he might pay for his Commission. The Batta of a Lieut. Col. in the Vizier's provinces where I now am amounts to £4 a day exclusive of other allowances. Graeme was at Lucknow with the Governor last month, and came on here to the young Trooper's Christening, he is now returned to Benares. The Climate here is much hotter and much colder than Calcutta, in the months of Dec. Jan. and Feby. we have good fires, in the months of April May & June we are sitting behind wet skreens.

No. LVI.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CAWNPORE,
15th Jany. 1798.

Graeme is at present with the Governor at Lucknow. There have been the appearance of disturbances in this part of the country for some time past, which has kept us under orders of March, and all prepared to send our families down to Benares, in case of hostile measures taking place. I hope however, matters will be settled, a few days must now determine it. We have an Army here of about 15,000 men so we have not much to fear.

No. LVII.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CAWNPORE,
5th April 1798.

Little Will is in good health, and very stout. Sir John Shore on leaving this gave Graeme a letter to his successor, which I hope will be of service to him.

The letters end here. As already stated, William Mercer was killed in a duel at Ghazipur on August 3, 1801: and is buried in the Ghazipur cemetery. His opponent was the Hon. Andrew Ramsay, younger brother of the ninth Earl of Dalhousie who was a member of the Civil Service and Commercial Resident at Ghazipur. The cause of the quarrel has not survived: but it is a remarkable fact that Mercer's nephew Graeme Ried Mercer of Gorthy married a niece of Ramsay. It is worth recording also that Ramsay's younger brother Henry, who was in the Company's marine service, fought a duel in China, as the result of which he was wounded in the head. He was trepanned after being brought to Europe and died after the operation on July 24, 1808, at the house in Aberdeen, of another brother, the Hon. William Maule.

V. C. HODSON.

The Situation of the Dutch in Bengal.

PART III.—“ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS AFTER PLASSEY.”

The results of Plassey made the Dutch extremely jealous of English ascendancy in Bengal. Perhaps, they had never imagined that the English, their greatest commercial rivals in Bengal, would come off victorious over the Nawab's forces. But they were duped in their imagination and were really struck with surprise when they saw their rivals gaining renewed influence in politics and commerce after their victory at Plassey. Being desperate, they resolved at last to strike a blow for gaining a strong foothold in the commerce of the country. For some time, they were not in good terms with the Nawab and even hesitated to acknowledge his position in the same manner as that of his predecessors (95). The Nawab imposed a prohibition on their trade, as some of them at Chinsura had not saluted him, while he had been passing through that place on his way to Calcutta (96). But the Dutch Director and Council apologised for their conduct, which satisfied the Nawab and removed the restrictions on their trade.

About the month of November, 1758, Meeran and a few other officers of the Nawab's Durbar made Mir Jafar sensible of his impotent and dependent position, and created an anti-English feeling in his mind (97). The Dutch sought to take hold of this opportunity, and it is stated by Holwell that they entered into a secret negotiation with Mir Jafar for "transporting troops from Batavia into these provinces that with their united force a stop might be put to the power of the English. This scheme was conducted by Raja Rajbullub on the one part and Foocratoojar for the Dutch on the other, about October or November 1758, the period when the Decan expedition took place and the garrison was much reduced" (98). Early in August, 1759, there was a rumour in Calcutta that the Dutch Government at Batavia had been fitting out a strong armament, which was destined for Bengal (99). Very soon, the arrival of a Dutch vessel in the Ganges,

(94) Vide ante.

(95) Clive's letter to the Dutch Director, 2nd October, 1758. Malcolm, Vol. II, pp. 71-72.

(96) 'Lord Clive's Righthandman', p. 120.

(97) Ibid., p. 122.

(98) Copy of the Memorial delivered by the President (Mr. Holwell) to the Select Committee upon the Arrival of Mr. Vansittart to succeed him in the Government, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 8-13; 'Clive's Narrative', Malcolm Vol. II, pp. 74-90. Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol. II, p. 365. Clive's "Narrative of the Disputes with the Dutch in Bengal" has been inserted in Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, Vol. II. Malcolm notes that "This paper is not dated but from a correction in the rough copy of it (it) appears to have been drawn up in November, 1759; and was no doubt, transmitted to England at that period."

carrying on board a number of European and Malaya troops, confirmed the rumour (100). The Nawab was at first much perplexed on hearing this news from Colonel Clive, but, after a while, he sent a Perwanah to the Dutch Government strictly ordering them not to engage in hostilities or to shelter any additional troops, and demanding help for his own forces as well as those of the English : Omarbeg Khan, the Foujdar of Hugli, was also asked to join and aid the English, and the English were called upon to render assistance in preventing any foreign troops or ships from coming up the river. The Dutch Government at Chinsura replied that they would implicitly obey his orders, and also stated that the vessel in the river had been driven by stress of weather from Nagapatam, which was its destination, and that it would go away as soon as it had been provided with water and provisions. But this did not allay the fear of the English, and for the purpose of defence they posted parties at Tannah's Fort and Charnock's Battery, on either side of the river, to stop and search all boats and vessels passing upwards ; detachments were also posted on the road sides to prevent the advance of any troops by land (101).

Again, early in the month of October, six or seven Dutch vessels full of European as well as Malaya troops arrived at the mouth of the river Ganges. Mir Jafar, who had then come to Calcutta on a visit to Colonel Clive, was at first greatly disconcerted on receiving this news (102). Here also Holwell asserts that the Dutch had arrived at the invitation of the Nawab, whom he accuses of a serious breach of trust in the following terms:—"The armament arrived during his visit; his stay after that was short, his mind much embarrassed, and his whole subsequent conduct gave most undoubted proofs, that the Dutch forces were arrived, by his invitation. That such were the sentiments of Colonel Clive and the Council, appears from the narrative of that Dutch business transmitted to the Honourable Court of Directors and to our several admirals; a perusal of this narrative will convince the impartial that the Nabob, in his behaviour on this occasion, was guilty of a most flagitious breach of the treaty of alliance and that from this period no terms whatever should have been preserved with him, after such unexampled treachery and ingratitude to which, by way of illustration, we may add the subsequent force carried on between the Nabob and the Dutch, as set forth in the several letters between Mr. Holwell and the resident at Moradbag on this subject; by

(99) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 75; Grose's Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. II, p. 365.

(100) Ibid, p. 75. •

(101) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 76; Grose, Vol. II, p. 366. Mynheer Lucas Zydland, the Dutch Master Attendant, "refused to allow his boat to be searched when passing up, and struck the officer on duty at Charnock's Battery for which he was put into guard, and on searching his Budgerow, 18 Malaya Soldiers were found concealed on board: these were sent back to their ship, and Mynheer Zydland was then released: formal remonstrances were now received from the Dutch to which equally formal replies and arguments were returned. At length the vessel departed and matters returned to their usual state of quiet".

(102) Ibid.

reference to which it will appear most manifest, that the Nabob's real intentions never were to distress effectually that people but on the contrary, were only aimed to amuse and deceive us; witness the private orders and instructions given to Meer Cossim Aly Cawn so opposite to his public ones, when he was sent down to demolish the new works at Chinsura; in the apparent delays of this service Cossim Ali Cawn suffered much in the opinion of the late President, though unjustly as we subsequently learnt. He was acting strictly conformable to the private orders of the Nabob (103)."

But whatever might have been the intentions of Mir Jafar, it is stated that after some time, he expressed his desire for proceeding to Hugli in order to force the Dutch to send away their vessels and troops, or else to drive them out of the province for ever. So, after leaving Calcutta on the 19th October, he reached Khojeh Wazid's garden, half way between Hugli and Chinsura, where he met the Dutch agents and held conversations with them. After three or four days he wrote to Colonel Clive about "some indulgence he had granted the Dutch in their trade, and that they had engaged to leave the river with their ships and troops as soon as the season would permit." But even after that the Dutch were found moving up the river with their vessels and were engaged in enlisting sepoys at Chinsurah, Cassimbazar and Patna (104). The English, therefore, devoted themselves to strengthening and mustering their own forces.

The Dutch vessels carried 700 European infantry and 800 Malays, which could act in combination with the Dutch garrison at Chinsura consisting of about 150 Europeans including artillery and a considerable body of sepoys. The English force consisted of 250 European Infantry, a company of Artillery about 80 strong with Lascars attached and about 1200 sepoys. A party of European infantry and 500 sepoys were at Patna; a part of the Battalion and a number of sepoys were stationed at Midnapore against the incursions of the Marathas and considerable detachments were stationed at Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad and Burdwan. All the available men from these different parts of the country were ordered to come back, and the militia of Calcutta composed of the European, Armenian and Portugese inhabitants were charged with the defence of the fort and town. "The only vessels in the river were three Indiamen the 'Duke of Dorset' of 544 tons, Captain Forrester; 'the Calcutta' of 761 tons, Captain 'Wilson'; and 'the Hardwicke' of 573 tons, 'Captain Sampson' with the Leopard, a small-snow Captain Barclay. The latter vessel was immediately set off with an express to Admiral Cornish, then cruising on the Arracan coast, requesting immediate assistance" (105).

Colonel Clive ordered three Indiamen, 'The Calcutta', 'Duke of Dorset', and 'Hardwicke' to proceed to the protection of the town and the detach-

(103) Copy of the Memorial addressed by the President Mr. Holwell to the Select Committee upon the arrival of Mr. Vansittart, Original papers, Vol. I, pp. 8-13; Indian Tracts, p. 11.

(104) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, pp. 76-79; Grose, Vol. II, p. 368.

(105) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, pp. 82-84; Broome's Bengal Army, pp. 261-265.

ments at Tannah's fort and Charnock's Battery were strengthened (106). The command of the parties at those two places was entrusted to Captain Knox, and Colonel Forde, who had at that time returned from Mauslipatam to Bengal because of ill health, took upon himself the command of the remaining troops in the garrison (107). He wrote to the Nawab (108) in strong and peremptory terms to send down his son with an army to invest Chinsura; but it was not listened to.

The Dutch now remonstrated against the actions of the English in searching their boats and obstructing the advance of their troops up the river, and threatened them with immediate and full revenge if they persisted in doing so. But the English only replied that "they (the English) had given no insult to their (Dutch) colours, or attacked or touched their property or infringed their privileges; that with respect to their bringing troops into Bengal, the Nabob knew best how far it was incumbent on him to preserve the peace and tranquility of his country; that their boats had been stopped and searched, and the advance of their troops opposed, by orders from the Viceroy, and under the Emperor his master's colours, and by his troops; that they must apply therefore to him, and that that we were ready to interpose our friendly offices to mitigate his resentment" (109).

This reply greatly enraged the Dutch who commenced hostilities by capturing seven English vessels including the 'Leopard Snow', 'Captain Barclay' which had been sent to Admiral Cornish on the Arracan coast, tearing down English colours and disembarking their guns, military stores, etc. from their own ships, and making prisoners of captains and crews. At Fulda and Riapore they tore down the English colours and burnt the houses and effects of the Company's tenants. Governor Clive informed the Nawab of these acts of (110) violence that the Dutch had committed, "adding that as they had commenced actual war against us, he should judge the quarrel now subsisted between them and us only, desiring he would leave chastising the Dutch to us and desist from sending either his son or any part of his army to our assistance; but that, if he would convince us of his sincerity and attachment, he should directly surround their subordinates, and distress them in the country to the utmost" (111).

On the 20th November, Colonel Forde seized the Dutch Factory at Baranagore and "passed over the river with his troops and four field artillery to Serampore, the Danish factory and marched towards Chander-nagore; not only with a view of striking terror into Chinsura, but to be ready to intercept the Dutch troops, in case they should disembark, and attempt to gain that place by land" (112). On the 21st November, the

(112) *Ibid*, p. 84.

(106) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 80; Grose, Vol. II, p. 368.

(107) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 84.

(108) *Ibid*, p. 80.

(109) *Ibid*; Grose, Vol. II, p. 369.

(110) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 82; Grose, Vol. II, p. 369.

(111) *Ibid*, p. 83.

Dutch armament came to an anchor in Sankeral Reach, just out of cannon shot from the English batteries. On the 23rd November, the Dutch landed on the western bank seven hundred Europeans, and about eight hundred Malays, and their ships dropped down to melancholy point. On the same day Colonel Clive sent orders to Commodore Wilson to demand of the Dutch immediate restitution of their ships, subjects and property, or "to fight, sink, burn and destroy the Dutch ships on their refusal". On the 24th, the demand was made and was at once refused. The English, thereupon, attacked the Dutch, notwithstanding the inferiority of their own vessels (the Dutch having seven (113) ships to three and four of these heavy vessels). After two hours' fighting, the Dutch commodore struck, and all the other vessels followed the example, except his second, who fought his way swiftly as far low as Culpee, where, however, he was very soon captured by the 'Oxford' and 'Royal George' who had arrived two days ago, with orders to join the other Captains. On this occasion, the Dutch lost more than 100 men; on board the Dutch Commodore's ship, the *Vlissingen*, upwards of 30 men were killed and double that number wounded. On the side of the English, 'the Duke of Dorset' suffered considerably (114).

On the same day Colonel Forde, while marching through Chandernagore with an intention to encamp between Chandernagore and Chinsura, was attacked by the Dutch with four pieces of cannon and the garrison from Chinsura, which had taken its position in the houses and ruins of Chandernagore. He, however, drove them from their position, took their cannon and pursued them with slaughter up to Chinsura (115). In the evening, he was joined by Captain Knox and the troops from the Charnoc's and Tanna batteries. He soon received the intelligence that the Dutch troops from the ships, joined by a part of the garrison from Chinsura, were advancing, and so he immediately resolved to attack them on the plains of Bedarra, about 4 four miles from Chinsura (116). But as to attack a European power, against whom, to his knowledge, war had not been formally declared was a matter of great responsibility, he thought it advisable to take an official permission, and wrote to Colonel Clive. His letter reached Clive while he was playing cards in the night. Without leaving the table, he wrote an answer on the back of the letter in pencil, "Dear Forde, Fight them immediately. I will send you the Order of Council tomorrow" (117). On receipt of this permission, he marched at once with

(113) List of the Dutch fleet :—The *Vlissingen*, *Bleiswyk*, *Welgeleegen*, and the *Princes of Orange* of 36 guns each, the *Elizabeth Dorothea* and *Waereld* of 26 guns each, and *de Mossel* of 16 guns, *Grose*, Vol. II, p. 374, footnote.

(114) Clive's Narrative, *Malcolm*, Vol. II, pp. 85-86; *Grose's Voyage*, Vol. II, pp. 374-375.

(115) *Ibid.*

(116) *Malcolm*, Vol. II, p. 86; *Grose*, Vol. II, p. 375.

(117) *Malcolm*, Vol. II, p. 87. Colonel Lionel Forde has quoted a slightly different version of this incident from Hough's 'Military Events in India', Vol. I, p. 20, footnote :—"When Colonel Forde reported to Clive the arrival of the Dutch in the river and wrote for orders, Clive was playing at cards and wrote on the back of the nine of diamonds: 'Fight them and I will send you an Order in Council, tomorrow' ". 'Lord Clive's Righthand Man', p. 186.

two field-pieces and met the Dutch on the plains of Bedarra (midway between Chandernagore and Chinsura) where the two parties soon came to action. Thus ensued on the soil of Bengal, a most deadly contest between two rival European powers, which has been described by Clive himself in the following manner:—"The Dutch were commanded by Colonel Roussel, a French soldier of fortune. They consisted of nearly seven hundred Europeans, and as many buggoses, besides country troops: ours of two hundred and forty infantry, and eighty of the train, and fifty more Europeans composing the troops of horse, independents and volunteers, and about eight hundred sepoy. The engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. The Dutch were put to a total rout in less than half an hour: they had about one hundred and twenty Europeans, and two hundred buggoses killed, three hundred and fifty Europeans and about one hundred and fifty wounded. Our loss was inconsiderable (118). After this action, Colonel Forde returned, sat down before Chinsura and wrote for further orders. The Dutch were now as abject in their submission as they had been insolent in their supposed superiority. They wrote to Colonel Forde, and likewise to the Board here, requesting he would cease hostilities and propose terms of amity" (119).

The English readily responded to the request of the vanquished Dutch; "deputies were appointed and things brought to a speedy and amicable conclusion" (120). The Dutch "disavowed the proceedings of their ships below, acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages", whilst the English agreed that these terms being fulfilled,

(118) Vide, Appendix 'S' (1+11+111) in 'Lord Clive's Righthandman'.

(119) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 87; Proceedings, 28 November, 1759 A.D. Compare with this the Dutch account of the battle of Bedarra:—"On the 25th when the troops and other hands, which, on the 22nd before, were gone on shore, were, in their projected march, come near Chandernagore, they were there met by the 'English', who according to their own account, to the number of 1170, were posted very advantageously, and provided with a numerous artillery. No sooner were these troops come within cannon shot but they were fired on by the English and though all the people were extremely fatigued by a very long march, which they were obliged to make for the space of three days; yet, with much bravery, they stood the fire of the English; and, though unprovided of any artillery, marched up with a full and steady pace to the enemy; but meeting in their way a broad and deep ditch, which they were constrained to pass, to avoid being destroyed by the artillery of the English, the troops, in passing that ditch, fell into some disorder; the English, taking advantage of this circumstance, redoubled the fire of their artillery and musquetry; and the disorder, already risen, being thereby increased, caused the slaughter of a part of these troops; another part was made prisoners and the rest were constrained to retire" Grose's Voyage, Vol. II, p. 376, footnote

(120) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 88. About this time Mr. John Burdett at Balasore "had put peons on the Dutch Factory and had secured the persons of two Dutchmen residing there". The Board on receipt of this news from Mr. Burdett's letter of 1st December, 1759, replied to him in the following manner—" . . . We are much surprised at the manner of his proceeding against the Dutch, and that we direct he immediately on the receipt of our letter, released the Dutch gentlemen and takes off the peon from their factory; and further, he apologizes to them for his conduct on this occasion and acquaints them that what he has done has been from a misunderstanding of our orders and is totally disapproved by us." Proceedings, 8 December, 1759 A.D.

they would restore the ships, stores and prisoners they had captured except those of the latter, who desired to enter their service (121). But three days after the battle of Bedarra, Meeran, the Nawab's son, arrived from Murshidabad with six or seven thousand horses and encamped within two miles of Chinsura. Highly terrified at his arrival, the Dutch wrote to Colonel Clive for protection, and the latter's intervention saved them from the wrath of the young Nawab, who at last "received their deputies; and after severe altercation, forgave them, and promised ample protection in their trade and privileges on the following terms:—that they shall never meditate war, introduce or enlist troops, or raise fortifications in the country; that they shall be allowed to keep up one hundred and twenty-five European soldiers, and no more, for the service of their factories of Chinsura, Cossimbazar and Patna: that they shall forthwith send their ships and remaining troops out of the country; and that a breach of any one of these articles shall be punished with utter expulsion" (122).

Thus the "attempts of the Dutch to rival the political power of the English in Bengal" (123) ended in smoke. The defeat at Bedarra was a crushing blow on their hopes, and henceforth, their existence in Bengal became entirely dependent on the goodwill of their rivals, the English. The Nawab began to look on them as "an unloved guest", whose departure, rather than existence, he now desired most.

B.

Every one had expected that after the conventions, which the Dutch had entered into, on the 3rd of December, 1759, with the English, and, on the 5th December, with the Nawab, the relations among these powers would be friendly. But, as a contemporary Dutch account says, these "two extorted conventions were not sufficient to answer the desired intention" of these powers (124). The weak position of the Dutch, coupled with the pecuniary embarrassments of the Nawab, subjected the former, once and again, to heavy financial exactions at the hands of the latter. The Nawab accused the Dutch that he had "discovered by an intercepted letter, said to be furnished him by the English, that the Company's (the Dutch Company's) servants had tendered and promised their assistance to the Mogul prince, who was in full March against the said Nabob" (125). He,

(121) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 88.

(122) Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 88.

(123) The importance of the victory of Bedarra for the English has been aptly hinted at by Clive in the following sentence:—"Thus ended an affair which, had the event been different, threatened us in its consequence with utter destruction; for, had the Dutch gained the same advantage over us, we have now the most convincing proofs to conclude that the remembrance of Amboyna would have been lost in their treatment of this colony". Ibid, p. 89.

(124) A fresh complaint lately exhibited to the States of Holland and West Friezland by the Dutch East India Company against the servants of the English East India Company in Bengal, 2nd December, 1761.

(125) Ibid.

therefore, made up his mind to punish the Dutch and wrote to Mr. Holwell accordingly (126). When the Dutch came to know of it, they applied to the English to intercede for them with the Nawab. The English agreed to do so provided they paid up the resitution money, demanded according to treaty and amounting to Rs. 75,428-0-0 ; of this Rs. 5,000 were demanded for the expenses of bringing the military from Patna to watch the Dutch ; Rs. 14,000 as a gratuity to the English sailors, hospital charge Rs. 57,000. The Dutch, after long objection to the payment of this, at last agreed to the proposal, and thus obtained the aid of the English to intercede for them with the Nawab (127). But this could not save them from his wrath.

On the 11th February, 1760, the Nawab sent Kasim Khan (128), one of his commanders, with a great army before the Dutch Company's fort Gustavas, which was invested by him in such a way that all provisions of the Dutch Company's servants were stopped. Kasim Khan afterwards gave orders that all the out-works of the Fort should be raised, and demanded of the Dutch, a considerable sum of money, by way of penalty or fine. The Dutch argued that the charge against them was a false one, and so the commander's demand was totally unjust. But it was of no avail. They were compelled "to raze the outworks of the Fort, and to buy off further Acts of violence by paying him 50,000 Florins" (129).

Again, in the month of April, the Nawab accused the Dutch of levying men, and sent for the Chief of their Factory at Cassimbazar (130), who could not, however, turn up owing to his illness. Therefore, De Wilde, the Second of that Factory, went before the Nawab, who "on admitting him into his presence, repeated the above-mentioned accusation, adding that the Company's servants held a correspondence and conspired with his Enemies ; and on this Account demanded of the (Dutch) Company, by way of contribution, an immense sum of fifty laks of rupees, or two and twenty

(126) *Ibid.* The Nawab's letter to Mr. Holwell : "Notwithstanding the solemn treaties and engagements in which we have lately entered with the Dutch and which we on our parts have faithfully adhered to and kept, they, without any just cause and contrary to their faith and word have broke, by carrying on a private correspondence with our known and public enemies, by keeping up a much larger force, than we thought proper to allow them by the late treaty, and which they themselves agreed to, and also by repairing the works ordered to be pulled down at their factory of Chinsura, in which place they are now employed in making quantities of powder and many other military preparations, which but too plainly show the wickedness of their designs and intention against my honour, the peace and safety of my kingdom. Being therefore now come to a resolution of punishing the said offenders, who have so long abused my clemency and goodness I propose sending down a large force to their Factory of Chinsura to oblige them by force, since other means will not do, to keep to their promises and oaths, and to agree to the just conditions I shall impose on them to prevent in time their plots and wicked designs, and to secure the quiet of my country from their evil attempts." Proceedings, 12 May, 1760 A.D.

(127) Long, p. 214, footnote.

(128) A Fresh complaint lately exhibited, etc.

(129) *Ibid.*

(130) *Ibid.*

Tons and a half of Gold ; threatening, if this sum was not immediately paid, to level with the ground the Company's settlements" (131). De Wilde tried his utmost to prove the falsity of these accusations and argued that the sepoy in the Dutch Company's service had been maintained for securing the effects of the Company against the threatened inroads of the Marathas, and that the natives in their service would have been already discharged but for that unexpected investment of their factory. But all his arguments were fruitless. The Nawab put him under arrest, caused the Dutch Factory at Cassimbazar to be invested by his troops and placed 11 pieces of cannon before it. The Dutch warded off the immediate destruction of their Factory by the payment of full seven and a half Tons of Gold, and under the promise of discharging the sepoy and sending back the other troops to Hugli. This promise they fulfilled very soon ; but their Factory still remained invested by the Nawab's troops. When the Dutch insisted on their withdrawal, the Nawab replied that "it was not in Prince's Breast but in that of the English" (132).

The English were then approached by the Dutch, and "questioned about the reason of such a conduct". But they replied that "they were informed the Company's (the Dutch Company's) servants held a correspondence with their enemies. That their design was to make head against them and the Prince ; and that therefore it was natural, that they, the English should prevent therein". The Dutch denied the truth of those charges and pleaded that they had not the least intention of hostility against the English. But they could not satisfy them so as to secure the withdrawal of the Nawab's troops, till they promised to send Commissioners to Calcutta, in order to settle standing differences with them (133).

Accordingly, two commissioners were sent by the Dutch to Calcutta on the 29th May. After about two months and a half, "they were constrained as it were, under the Guaranty (guarantee) of the President and Council at Fort William" to enter into a more precise convention with the Nawab, dated 23rd August, 1760 (134). The articles of the convention (135) were very hard for the Dutch, especially the sixth one, which contained, "That the Director and Council of the Dutch Company shall, now and at all times, whenever the Nabob may require it, permit one of his officers, accompanied by one of the English, to muster or visit their troops and Military Stores at Chinsura and their other Factories: or if any other means can be agreed on between the Governor and Council of Fort William and

(131) Ibid.

(132) A Fresh Complaint, etc.

(133) Ibid. About this time the Dutch Director Mr. Bisdorn received a letter from Mr. Holwell, dated 15th May, 1760, in which "under the semblance of friendship" the latter advised the Dutch to satisfy in full the present and future demands of the Nawab. He also added that he ardently wished to play the part of a mediator between the Dutch and the Nawab as, in case of differences between the two, the English would be compelled, through necessity, to play a very disagreeable part.

(134) A Fresh Complaint, etc.

(135) Ibid.

the Director and Council of Chinsura, whereby the Governor and Council of Fort William may, to their satisfaction, be assured of the Number of their Troops, and the quantity of their military stores, and he, as umpire, empowered to give a satisfactory Answer to the Nabob, as to the security of his country ; that then, and in that case the Nabob would no further insist on the Muster". According to the other articles, the Dutch were required:—(I) to send away from Hugli and other factories all the troops, which exceeded the number of 125 men, (II) not to raise any new works or fortifications, and to demolish those which they had erected since the last treaty with the Nawab, (III) to send away from their factories surplus number of artillery, and the quantity of warlike stores, (IV) not to suffer "above one European ship at once to come up higher than Culpi, Fotha (Fulta), or Mayapur, without previously obtaining of the Nawab an Express permission". Umed Ray, the Nawab's Dewan, also promised that, as soon as the Dutch had submitted to those abovementioned conditions, their trade in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa "shall be carried on free and unmolested in all points whatever, except the saltpetre Trade", which will remain exclusively in the hands of the English ; that they "shall not be aggrieved with any new or unusual Extortions of Money, under what pretencesoever" ; and that "in future their business in the Mint shall be continued to be carried on, without the least Molestation or obstruction".

Thus the Dutch were subjected to a very humiliating and precarious position. Many of them left their ships at Fulta and Chinsura and ran away to the Raja of Birbhūm who was then on unfriendly terms with the Nawab (136). But the Nawab at once sent a Company of troops to seize them at Dewangunge in Burdwan and to bring them over to Calcutta. The local authorities in the interior of Burdwan and the inhabitants of Dewangunge were also warned not to allow the Dutch to enter the territory of the Raja of Birbhūm. Their trade in Bengal was also on the decline. The saltpetre trade had been practically monopolised by the English Company (137), and the behaviour of their (the English) servants had become a terrible nuisance, hampering in a serious manner the peaceful trade of the other foreign companies, as well as of the natives. These private English traders and the servants of the English Company disturbed the Dutch, even in their spice trade (138), and hindered them, by means of their insolent

(136) Letter from Annad Lal to Mirjafar, September, 1760. Long. No. 496, p. 235.

(137) Orme, Vol. II, 282.

(138) "Traders and smugglers have, for some time past laid it down as a rule for their conduct, that they may lawfully sail to and trade at all places where it has pleased God that Water should run. Founded on that pretended Right, several of these private Traders have once and again ventured to supplant the Dutch Company even in their most appropriated spice-trade. The favourable Government of India has not omitted to hinder as much as possible this unlawful navigation and Trade. And this gave occasion to the Commander of His Brittanic Majesty's squadron in the East Indies, without scruple, to threaten in a Letter that if the Honourable Government should hinder or obstruct any English ships in their Navigation and Trade, he would in that case with his ships of War pay a visit to Batavia, which would be of the most affecting consequences to the Dutch Company". A Fresh Complaints, etc.

behaviour, from filling in their investments with the clothes manufactured in Bengal (139).

In these circumstances, the Directors of the General Dutch East India Company appealed to their High Mightinesses the States of Holland and West Friezland that they might recommend to their ministers at the Court of England, "to insist in the strongest manner, on a proper satisfaction for the injuries sustained, as also on the actual Reparation of the Damage and detriment undergone; and at the same time write to the said ministers, above all to insist with his Britannic Majesty, that in the meantime, the necessary orders may, on the first proper opportunity, be expedited to the Indies; in which both the commanders of His Majesty's squadrons there, and the servants of the English Company in Bengal, and elsewhere in the Indies, where it may be necessary shall be expressly forbid, in virtue of the Treaty or convention, entered in the year 1757, with the then Nabob of Bengal, as Allies of the Nabob, or under any other Pretext directly or indirectly, to commit any act of Hostility or Violence against the Dutch Company, their settlements or dependents, and in which they, on the contrary, shall be charged to behave in regard to the Company of this country, according to the Tenor of the Treaties subsisting between his Britannic Majesty and your High Mightinesses; and, moreover, to suffer the commerce of the said Company to be carried on unmolested, and without giving them the least Impediment or Lett therein" (140). The Directors pointed out in their petition that the servants of the East India Company in Bengal were helping the Nawab against them, on the strength of that treaty (141) and, therefore, prayed that it might be cancelled, as, in their opinion, it directly clashed with the treaties, concluded between the King of Netherlands and the King of Great Britain, especially with one separate article of the 8th of March, 1675.

Technically speaking, according to Article XIII of the said treaty (142), the English were bound to help Mir Jafar against his enemies, and it is also clear that, for sometime past, the Dutch had fallen in the bad eyes of the Nawab. Of course, under the plea of helping the Nawab, the English had, on many occasions, adopted some objectionable measures against the Dutch in order to 'feed fat their ancient grudge' on their old commercial rival in Bengal, for which the Dutch might justly complain. But their demand

(139) Ibid :—"The weavers, under severe Threats, are forbid and actually hindered from working any cloths for the Dutch Company yet the factors of the English forcibly cut the Pieces out of the Loom; and whatcomplaintssoever the Company's servants have made on that Head to the Governor and Council of the English Company, no redress could ever be obtained".

(140) A Fresh Complaint, etc.

(141) Stewart's History of Bengal, Appendix No. XIII.

(142) ". . . that we will assist Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder with all our force, to obtain the Soubaship of the province of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and further, that we will assist him to the utmost, against all his enemies whatever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end; provided that he, on his coming to the Nabob, shall fulfill the aforesaid Articles".

for a cancellation of the treaty between Mir Jafar and the English, on the ground that it clashed with the treaties existing between the two powers in Europe, do not seem to be just. We have already seen that when the English had, during the invasion of Calcutta by Seraj-ud-dowlah, asked help of the Dutch on the basis of these treaties, the latter had themselves plainly declared that their treaties in Europe did not apply to their colonies in India (143). To ask them for a cancellation of that treaty was to 'hope against hope'. Moreover, judging from the point of view of practical politics, it may be said that the English could not do away with that treaty. That would have prejudiced their position in Bengal and would have meant a loss of the interests and privileges, that they had already gained.

The complaints of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company attracted the attention of the States General of Netherlands, which began preparations for sending an armament to India. Fortunately, the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Bute, Secretary of State, was able to diagnose the real state of affairs. He signified to the Court of Directors that there was reason to "apprehend the Dutch East India Company extremely anxious at the situation of their affairs in Bengal may induce the States General to take such measures as may produce the most fatal consequences, and become perhaps the cause of a rupture between the two powers in those parts, if the utmost care and precaution be not used without delay to prevent it" (144), and recommended to them, in the most serious manner, to try their level best to put an end to the unhappy disputes subsisting between the two nations. The Court of Directors, therefore, sent the following order and directions to the Company's people in Bengal:—" You do not commit any hostility or act of violence against the Dutch Company's agents ; on the contrary, you are to use your best endeavours to cultivate by all sorts of good offices a reciprocal friendship and good understanding with them, and in particular if the Nawab shall unjustly attempt to molest the Dutch Company in Bengal, or any way prejudice them in their trade, privileges or property, you are to interpose your good offices in order to procure them redress and satisfaction and if these should prove ineffectual, you are to aid and defend them to the utmost of your power ; it being our sincere desire and intention that the Dutch Company shall enjoy freedom of trade, safety and protection equally with ourselves" (145).

We are not sure if the Company's people in Calcutta tried to act up to the abovementioned orders of their authorities at home. In 1763 the English Company's Resident at Malda complained that the Gomasthas of the Dutch had been greatly obstructing the English investments by their clandestine purchases from the weavers engaged to the Company (146). But the Dutch company had by that time realised that their loss of political

(143) Vide, ante.

(144) Court's Letter, April 2, 1762, para. 19.

(145) Court's Letter, April 2, 1762, para. 19.

(146) Proceedings, 23 June, 1763 A.D.

and commercial influence in Bengal left no way open for them but to be on friendly terms with the English, and so, henceforth, the disputes that occasionally arose ended mostly in amicable settlements. The English in Calcutta received many informations about the death and expulsion of their brethren at Patna, in 1763, in a letter from the Dutch Director "giving an extract of a letter wrote by John Bacheracht, Chief, and Mr. Andries Surgen Schultz, Second of the Dutch Factory at Patna, to the Hon'ble Louis Taillefert and the rest of the Council at Chinsura, dated 27th June 1763" (147). In the same year, the disputes between the English and the Dutch Factories concerning the opium trade were also amicably settled, and the Court of Directors congratulated Calcutta thus:—"We are extremely glad to find by your letter of the 14th February, 1763 that the disagreeable altercations and disputes between the English and Dutch Factories concerning the Opium Trade have been accommodated by the President when he was at Patna to the satisfaction of both parties. As there is reason to believe that both our servants, and those of the Dutch, have been to blame, we strictly charge it upon you to see that the conduct of our servants in the providing or purchasing this article is such as many prevent every person for complaint, and on the other hand the greatest care must be taken that the Dutch behave in like manner to ours" (148).

KALI KINKAR DATTA.

(147) Proceedings, 11 July, 1763 A.D.

(148) Court's Letter, 22 February, 1764.

More Monumental Inscriptions.

III.

AGRA, Fort cemetery.

745. In memory of HANNAH, the beloved child of Alexr. and Hannah DYCE died in the Agra Fort 5th December 1857, aged 1 year and 2 months. (*Text*).

AGRA, Muslim cemetery outside the Fort.

746. Sacred to the memory of SITTARAH BEGHUM, the Faithful and Affectionate Friend and Companion of Lieutenant. SHAIRP who died on the 3rd of December 1804.

GWALIOR.

(Near the site of the Old Residency Camp, at Madurusthana, near Sagartal, due South of the hill on which the reservoir stands).

747. JOSIAH STEWART, son of Major and . . . Stewart Born the 20th of July 1824 Died the 1st of May 1825.
748. Sacred to the memory of SUSAN ELIZABETH LOW, daughter of Major and Mrs. Low Born at Jypoor the 14th of January 1830 Died at Gwalior . . . of May 1831.
749. Sacred to the memory of Lieutent. ROBERT VETCH 26th Regt. Native Infy. Assist. to the Residency with Sindeah who died on 23rd August 1818 aged 29 years.
750. Sacred to the memory of K. MACAULAY Esqre., Surgeon to the Residency with Scindia who died on the 17th October 1813. This stone is erected by his friends in testimony of His Worth.

(About fifty yards to the N.E. of the above enclosure are two smaller graves in bad repair. One has no inscription: the epitaph of the other is given below. Thirty yards away is a third (nameless) grave.)

751. Sacred to the memory of JOAO PEREIRA an infant son of Manuel Pereira aged 6 years 1 month who died with smallpox on the 8 March 1818 left his parents to lament his loss.

(To the West of the Agra-Bombay Road are two small cemeteries, the first being about 200 yards from the road and consisting of an enclosure 120 ft. by 45 ft. It contains nine large tombs, on 3 of which are inscriptions on metal plates. The other tablets are now missing).

752. Sacred to the memory of SARAH Relict of John DA COSTA Esqre. of the Marhatta Service Died at Gwalior 8th Nov. 1842 Aged 60 years.
753. Sacred to the memory of LOUISA CAROLINE who died at Dholpur 27th November 1874 only child of Major and Mrs. LANDERS aged 7 years 2 months 23 days.

754. In memory of FRANCIS MATILDA GRIMES the beloved and devoted wife of Capt. H. S. Grimes. Paymaster. Gwalior Contingent. born 7th October 1816 and died at Gwalior 12th July 1845 whose mortal remains rest here. Also of Mary Ellen, born 10th Dec. 1841 died 25th August 1844, and of Florence, born 31st August 1844 died 22nd Feb. 1845, the infant daughters of the above named who are interred near here.

(About 300 yards W.S.W. of the above graveyard is a small enclosure which contains 14th graves, brick and cement, which stand 6 to 12 inches above the ground, and one rather larger tomb about 3 ft. high, with a large slab inscribed as follows :—

755. Sacred to the memory of Ensn. THEODORE DAVID BRAY of H. M.'s 39th Regiment who fell whilst gallantly carrying the colours of the Regiment at the Battle of Maharajpore on the 29th December 1843 aged 19 years & 3 months. Erected by his brother officers.

Gwalior, Alexander Family Chapel.

756. Sacred to the memory of JOSEPH N. ALEXANDER who departed this life 28 July 1871 aged 21 years 3 months.

Gwalior, Armenian Cemetery.

(This cemetery contains many epitaphs in Persian and Armenian, which, it is understood, have been transcribed by Professor Mesroub J. Seth. The only English inscription is given below).

757. This is the tomb of WANESS GABRIEL died on the 20th January in the year 1853 NEIBG in age 90 years. Gwalior.

Ferozepore, Punjab, Civil Cemetery.

758. Sacred to the memory of ROBERT CHARLES HENRY MARTINDELL of the Canal Department who departed this life on the 30th May 1867 aged 44 years . . . erected by his affectionate wife Anna Martindell.

BARODA STATE.

Khari Talavdi, Fatehpura, Baroda City.

759. Sacred to the memory of Mrs. CHARLOTTE EVANS, daughter of the late Captain F. Danover of the Gaekwar's service, who departed this life on the 30th September 1830 aged 17 years.

(There are seven other graves, without inscriptions, at the same place, all of which are said to be of members of Capt. Danover's family).

Mehsana.

760. Sacred to the memory of Lizzy and Agnes, two daughters of Mr. H. O. RALEIGH, died of cholera on the 25th June 1876.

761. Sacred to the memory of Lt. J. R. A. COLEBROOK, H. M.'s 83rd Regiment who died at Mehiana of cholera on the 29th April 1860 deeply lamented by his brother officers by whom this tablet has been erected. *(Text).*

Billimora, taluka Gandevi, Navsari district.

762. F. C. BARFESTON died in July 1860.

Dhari, district Amreli.

763. Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM JOHN GOULD, only son of Thomas Gould Esqr., staffed(?) in the county of Wiltshire, England, and Captain, His Highness the Gaekwar's 4th or Amreli Regiment who died deeply regretted at Amreli on the 16th September 1870, aged 34 years and 10 months. (*Text*).
764. Sacred to the memory of SARAH, the beloved wife of Captain George NISSEN, His Highness Gaekwar's 4th Regiment N. I. and daughter of Samuel Divins Esqr., London, who died at Dhari 14th September 1877 at the age of 34 years 7 months and 10 days. God in his wisdom called her away from her newly born infant. (*Verse*). Our little Arthur sleeps at Rajkot. G. Nissen.

Dwarka, taluka Okhamandal, Amreli district.

765. Here lies the body of WILLIAM HENRY MARRIOTT, Lieutenant in His Majesty's 67th Regiment of foot and Aide-de-camp to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, died 8th Decembér 1820. Aged 26. The gallant officer was the first person who mounted to assault the Fort of Dwarka on the 26th November 1820 and died of the wound he received on the occasion. His friends in token of their admiration of his gallantry, respect of his virtues and esteem of his amiable qualities have erected this stone at the spot where the ladder was planted. Brief, brave and glorious was his young career.

(There are five other graves at Dwarka, all later than 1870).

Beyt, Peta Mahal Beyt, Amreli district.

766. Edward Tanquary William Ensign 6th Bombay Regiment N. I. and Captain McCormac, 28th Regiment of foot, killed on the 6th October MDCCCLIX.

JAIPUR STATE.

Old cemetery, Jaipur.

767. In memory of MARTIN BLAKE, Esqre., of the Bengal Civil Service, who was murdered by the populace of Jaipur on his return from the palace whither he had proceeded in the course of his public duty attendant upon the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana. The melancholy events of the 4th June 1835, on which day, in the death of Martin Blake, a meritorious officer was lost to the State and society was bereft of an amiable and accomplished member, will be recorded in the annals of Rajasthan. The deed of blood needs no gravestone commentary. Obit. 4th June 1835. Aetat. [blank] years.
768. Sacred to the memory of JOSEPH VANZEYST, Head Clerk in the Jaipur Political Agency Office, who departed this life on the 28th July 1842, aged 23 years 5 months 28 days. This tomb^o is erected by his disconsolate widow.
769. Sacred to the memory of Dr. JOSEPH HARRIS, Residency Surgeon, who died 29th September 1846, aged 43 years. He was exemplary in

his duty and an honest good man. This tomb is erected by C. Thoresby and T. Ludlow, Political Agents, as a mark of esteem.

770. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant E. B. WIMBERLY, B.A., Bengal Staff Corps, Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, who entered into rest on Sunday night, the 6th March 1864, aged 32 years. This tomb is erected by General G. St. P. Lawrence, C.B., Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, in testimony of his worth and untiring zeal. (*Text*).

New cemetery, Jaipur.

771. Sacred to the memory of FREDERIC CURRIE KNYVETT, Captain, Bengal Staff Corps, who departed this life, July 15th, 1869, aged 32 years. (*Text*).
772. To the memory of ALEXANDER YOUNG SINCLAIR of Barrack Caithness Lieutenant-Colonel, His Majesty's 26th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, born 16th February 1826, died 3rd February 1871, aged 46 years.

Old cemetery, Jaipur.

773. Sacred to the memory of CHARLOTTE CATHERINE, the infant daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel RAPER and Eliza his wife, who departed this life on the 26th of October 1825, aged 9 months and 12 days
774. Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH, relict of the late Assistant Commissary John LUCKSTEDT, who departed this life on the 26th April 1836, aged 61 years. This tomb is erected by her affectionate sons.
775. Sacred to the memory of JULIET AUGUSTA, the infant daughter of Mr. J. VANZEYST and E. Elizabeth his wife, who died at Jaipur 16th April 1839, aged 6 months and 7 days.
776. Sacred to the memory of WILLIAMINA VICTORIA, the infant daughter of Mrs. VANZEYST, who died at Jaipur, 16th April 1841, aged 1 year 3 months and 12 days.
777. In memory of ANTHONY YEY, who departed this life, 8th December 1845, aged 45 years.
778. To the infant daughter of Captain G. HAMILTON, Assistant Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana Agency, and Alice, his wife, born 4th February 1862, and died the same day.

Jaipur, new cemetery.

779. Sacred to the memory of EMA CAROLINE BROOKE, the beloved wife of Colonel John Cheap Brooke, Bengal Staff Corps, who died at Jaipur on January 3rd, 1869, aged 37 years.
780. Sacred to the memory of SAMUEL EDGAR JAMES OCKELTON, aged 2 years and 11 days. (*Text*).
781. Sacred to the memory of AMELIA HENRIETTA HARDY, died 6th January 1872, aged one month.

782. Sacred to the memory of ISABELLA ANN, the beloved wife of W. S. HARDY, born 3rd June 1836, died 28th February 1872, aged 35 years 8 months 25 days. (*Text*).
783. In memory of MARY FRANCIS STEWART, the beloved child of Robert and Diana Paterson, born 3rd April 1871, died 27th September 1874.
784. Sacred to the memory of GEORGE FRITSCHY, who departed this life 30th August 1877. Erected by his wife as a last token of affection.

Jaipur, Shekhawati.

785. In memory of the infant boy of Captain and Mrs. FORSTER, died 17th August 1841, aged 1 year 5 months.

Jaipur, Mahwa.

786. In memory of HERBERT EDWARD, son of Herbert Owen, Esqre., died at Halleyna, 9th February 1870, aged 4 months 17 days.

Jaipur, near Residency.

787. Sacred to the memory of PATRICK DE COURCY, Staff Serjeant, 1st Company, 2nd Battalion Artillery, who died while on service at Jaipur on the 21st day of September 1835, aged 37 years

Jaipur, Roman Catholic Chapel.

788. In memory of the infant son of Major VICTOR EDWARD LAW and of Helen Florence his wife, who was born on the 15th June 1877 and died the same day.
789. Sacred to the memory of HENRY GEORGE, infant son of Major and Mrs. ADAMS, H.M. 28th Regiment who departed this life after very severe illness on the 27th of September 1846, aged 11 months.
790. Sacred to the memory of PENELOPE, the wife of Captain Henry Charles MORSE, 8th Regiment N.I., who departed this life at Mount Abu, on the 12th June 1846
791. Sacred to the memory of LOUISA, infant daughter of Mr. and Mrs. CLIFFORD, who departed this life February, 6th, 1856, aged 1 year. (*Text*). Also to the memory of JULIA the dearly beloved wife of Mr. W. W. CLIFFORD, Master, Abu Lawrence School, died 10th December 1856, aged 18 years, three months and 21 days. (*Text*).
792. Sacred to the memory of FLORENCE MAIF, the beloved child of Lt. and Mrs DICKENSON, Her Majesty's 83rd Regiment, who died at Mount Abu, on the 1st September 1857, aged 16 months.
793. Sacred to the memory of MABEL CAROLINE the beloved child of Lieutenant C. R. BLAIR, 2nd Bombay Native Infantry, who died at Abu, 31st October 1863, aged 2 months.
794. Sacred to the memory of JOHN WILLIAM, the beloved son of Major Richard ANDERSON, 56th Regiment, who died at Mount Abu on the 9th of October 1862, aged 1 year and 16 days.
795. Sacred to the memory of LETITIA ANGELA, wife of Captain Henry Erskine FORBES, 1st Bombay Lancers, who died at Abu, 29th October 1857. (*Text*).

796. In memory of ARTHUR FRANCIS, the beloved child of Assistant Surgeon A. YOUNG, Jodhpur Legion. He was born at Abu on the 14th of September 1857, and departed this life on the 23rd August 1858. (Text).
797. Here lies the body of LOUISA LATHAM, wife of Arthur George St. John, and daughter of Captain Harry GOUGH, Ordnance (?) of the Royal Artillery and Louisa his wife. She died at Abu, 5th May A.D. 1855. Little Artie died 29th July 1855, aged 13 months and 5 days. (Text).
798. Erected to the sacred memory of Mr. JOHN ANGIER who died at Mount Abu on the 6th of February 1876, aged 60 years, by his affectionate and bereaved wife, Louisa Angier. (Text).
799. Sacred to the memory of JANE, the beloved wife of John JOHNSTON of Mount Abu, who departed this life on the 30th November 1860. Aged 42 years. (Text).
800. JOSEPH LAMBERT COURTNEY, son of Daniel Rutledge Courtney, 26, died 14th February 1860, aged 25 years.

LORALAI.

The cemetery at Loralai, Baluchistan, contains 35 M.I., the oldest being dated Oct. 1889. Of these, 8 M.I. relate to Indian Christians and 12 to private soldiers etc. : the remaining 15 are set forth below. The headstone of Capt. Goolden was removed from Lakaband to Loralai in 1929.

801. Lieut-Col. William Lockhart MAXWELL, Commandant 10th D.C.O. Lancers, who died at Loralai on March 7th 1914 aged 51 years. Erected by his brother officers as a token of their affection and esteem.
802. In loving memory of my dear husband David J. S. GYFORD aged 28 years, who was killed by a ghazi at Loralai on October 31st 1891. (Text).
803. Sacred to the memory of Hugh Roddam TATE Brevet Lieut.-Col. 15th Bengal Lancers who died at Loralai 2nd August 1897 in his 41st year. (Text).
804. In memory of Surgeon Lieut. J. D. McMILLAN I.M.S., attached 15th Bengal Lancers who died at Loralai 5th February 1897.
805. In memory of Miles Ransome TURNER 25th Cavalry F.F. who died 12th January 1920 aged 20 years. (Text).
806. John Brian JEFFERIS died October 29th 1918. Aged 2 months.
807. In faithful memory of Flying Officer Robert RUGHE No. 5 Squadron Royal Air Force Born 25th January 1899 Died Loralai 16th April 1920 aged 21 years. Erected by his brother officers.
808. In loving memory of Archibald GWATKIN Lieutenant 15th Lancers (Cureton's Multanis) son of Colonel F. S. Gwatkin C.B. Indian Army, killed in action at the Sharan Toi Tangi near the Afghan border on the 27th February 1909 in his 23rd year. Erected by his father and brother as a small token of love and affection for one who died doing his duty.

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809. In ever loving memory of Reginald Charles Newport (Sonnie) the loved son of Alfred and Gracie PEARSON aged 19 months. (Text).
810. In memory of Georgiana Susan the loving and loved wife of Alfred KEENE and daughter of the late Revd. J. W. NEAT, died 13th Oct. 1890.
811. Sacred to the memory of Captain Dudley C. JOHNSTON I.M.S. 24th Baluchistan Infantry the dearly loved son of William and Clarissa Johnston. Born 9 June 1870, murdered at Loralai 9th Jan. 1901 by a fanatic . . .
812. Sacred to the memory of Alexander Prest HOUSDEN Lieut. 18th Bengal Lancers who died at Murgha outpost on 11th April 1890, aged 25 years
813. In memory of Wilfred Francis Lawrie BRIGHT Captain R.A.V.C. who was killed by raiders in the Zhob on 22nd Nov. 1921 aged 35 years. This memorial is erected by the Officers R.A.V.C. serving in India.
814. To the memory of Captain A. W. GOOLDEN 3/124th (D.C.O.) Baluchistan Infantry killed in or near Babar 16th July 1919. Erected by his brother officers.
815. R.I.P. Ralph McKeon KENNELLY died 13th Nov. 1927 aged 7 weeks.

H. BULLOCK, Capt.

Voices from the Past

IN the Public Library at Lahore there exists a copy in three volumes of Dow's History of Hindustan (1) published in 1770. On the fly leaf of Vol. I appears the following note in a clear running, almost copper plate, hand:—

This paltry book was patched up by John Stewart and Fingal Macpherson under the patronage of George Johnstone, Lawrence Sullivan and the rest of that set for the special purpose of discrediting and dishonoring Lord Clive and published under the name of Alexander Dow, an ignorant stupid fellow who, to my knowledge, did not understand a word of persian (Initialled P.F.).

The initials are undoubtedly those of Philip Francis. Vol. II. contains no note of name, but Vol. III is marked P. Francis on the first fly leaf and on the last is the following in the same writing:—

When Dow's History first reached India, a gentleman at the court of Sujah ul Dowla explained to that prince the character Col. Dow had drawn of him in his History of Hindustan. The Prince at first looked serious, but soon recovering himself, laughed very heartily, and told the English gentleman that he in some measure deserved the character given him by Dow, "for, knowing as I did," said he, "that he was a writer of history, I should not have refused him the grant of some saltpetre farms in my country, which he applied to me for."

Mahomed Reza Khan did not keep his temper quite so well in a similar situation, for, on being told what the figure he made in Dow's book, "this", exclaimed the Nabab, "is ungrateful and intolerable. When that man was first introduced to me, I was informed that he was an ingenious person. I received him as a friend to the gentleman who introduced him, and, as is our country custom, made him a handsome present to oblige that gentleman who was also a friend of mine. But, had I known that he was a drawer of characters, I would certainly have come up to his price and have had good one (character?). It would have cost him no more trouble, and, for the matter of that he is just as good a judge of one as the other."

Joseph Price, one of Hastings' creatures and champions gives the above account of Dow in a set of letters to Hastings published in 1778.

(1) For an account of "Colonel Dow and His Nephew," see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLII, pp. 55-57. There is a reference to Dow's History of Hindostan in a footnote in Chapter LVII of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Gibbon observes: "In the two first volumes of his History Colonel Dow styles himself the translator of the Persian Ferishta: but in his florid text it is not easy to distinguish the version and the original."

A pencil note in the first volume states that these books were sold by Thacker on 1.12.26 for Rs. 65.

* * * * *

Another interesting personal note is to be found in a copy of the Bengal Military Code of 1791 once the property of Colonel Vere Warner Hussey of the Bengal Artillery (2). Opposite the paragraph prohibiting the giving of contracts to army officers is written in a minute hand, "Lord Clive did not always adhere to this rule." Lahore.

C. GREY.

(2) According to Major Hodson's List of Officers of the Bengal Army (Vol. II. p. 510) Hussey was admitted as an artillery cadet on October 6, 1770. He fought in the first Rohilla War under Col. Alexander Champion (Battle of Miranpur Katra, April 23, 1774) and received a severe wound in the second Mysore War (1781—1785), which lamed him for life. He commanded the Bengal Artillery from October 1797 to February 1799, when he took furlough and retired on "off reckonings" on July 1, 1801 without returning to India. In 1798 he was promoted to be Major General, and in 1805 Lieutenant-General. He died in London on April 29, 1823, at the age of 76.

Our Library Table

Jainism in North India (800 B.C.—A.D. 526) by Chimanlal J. Shah. (Longmans, Green & Co., London 1932. £2-2s. Net).

Mr. Chimanlal J. Shah, the writer of this book is himself a Jain. As stated in the preface by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., he aims at presenting before the reader all the existing materials of the early history of this religion in Aryavarta from its philosophical, historical and legendary aspects from 800 B.C. to 526 A.D. The work is a collection of such materials scattered in different parts of North India and Mr. Shah has put together an impressive series of quotations, illustrations and maps. Much valuable information is conveyed but the quotations are too numerous and are apt divert the attention of the reader from the point at issue. On p. 5 there are ten quotations in the text of 25 lines, on p. 11 there appear nineteen quotations in a single page of 38 lines. Instances like these are not uncommon.

The early history of India is still shrouded in obscurity although the labours of various scholars in this direction as well as the healthy activities of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India have brought to light many important materials which were hitherto inaccessible. Mr. Shah has spared no pains in utilizing the results of these researches and we find extracts and quotations from almost all available works whether Eastern or European dealing with the history of the period and connected with the Jain religion. In some places however the quotations have fallen flat as was almost inevitable owing to his excessive fondness for them. But the analysis of the subject in hand is all-sided and the treatment shows vast labour.

A short Introduction is followed by eight chapters.

The first chapter deals with "Jainism before Mahavira". It consists of 12 pages only and is more or less, a summary of known materials. After Parsva's historicity we expected more facts from the history of the disciples of Parsvanath up to Mahavira. The chronological list of such pontiffs is to be found in Upakesh Gachha Pattavali. This gachha traces its origin from Parsvanath and the list was published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XIX).

The next chapter deals with "Mahavira and his times". This is divided into four sections. The first of these describes the contemporary life and times of Mahavira. It is followed by the life story of Mahavira till his Nirvana. The third section is devoted to the spiritual aspect of Jainism and the last one deals with the history of its church during and after Mahavira's time.

While describing the exchange of embryo at p. 21 the conclusion reached by the writer that the event "must have been connected with one or other

social characteristics of those days'', is surely far-fetched. In the Kalpa Sutra and other Jain canons this event is clearly described as supernatural, being one of the ten miracles that had never happened in the past or will ever happen again in future. His next discussion on the date of Mahavira's Nirvana occupies about 8 pages (pp. 27-34) but the whole thing seems to be a bit futile. It is an universally accepted fact among the Jains that Mahavira's Nirvana took place 470 years before the commencement of the Vikram Era *i.e.*, in 527 B.C. Unless this can be proved contrariwise by some authenticated materials mere speculation on the subject has but little value.

The author is to be congratulated in the able manner in which he has attempted to elucidate many technical items of Jain metaphysics as well as the important doctrine of Syadvad. In doing so he has traversed the whole range of English literature on Jainism except perhaps one or two books which also he might have profitably studied along with others.

His criticism on Dr. Barna's theory about Gosala is praiseworthy. He has successfully proved by arguments the inaccuracies of Dr. Barna's conclusions about the importance of Gosala and his relation with Mahavira and the Jain doctrine.

From p. 67 the writer traces the history of the two great divisions in the Jain Church, *viz.* : Swetambaras and Digambaras on the trodden grounds. He does not limit his period in this direction but goes on up to the 15th century and describes how other divisions among the Swetambaras came about.

In chapter III Mr. Shah has dealt at great length with all the known royal families of the period who either embraced Jainism or took an active interest in its cause from B.C. 800 to B.C. 200. Facing p. 83 there are two provisional maps of India, one of the age of Parsva and the other of that of Mahavira. These would have been more useful if they had been prepared with greater accuracy. The mention of such places as Maldah and Bogra in the age of Parsva lacks the realistic touch, like that of Multan and Kathiawar in Mahavira's time.

At p. 83 he has very rightly pointed out a confusion about the name of king Prasanjit in the works of Mr. Majumdar and Mrs. Stevenson. Facing p. 90 of the same chapter we find a coloured plate containing newly painted portraits of king Kumarpal and Acharya Hem Chandra which are also out of place as they flourished several centuries afterwards. While narrating the Jain version of the conversion of Srenika or Bimbisara, king of Magadha, Mr. Shah quotes from Uttaradhyayana Sutra that King Srenika "laid the following point before Mahavira". There are three extracts at p. 117 from the translation of that Sutra by Jacobi (S.B.E. Vol. XLV). It was a certain monk and not Mahavira who had this discourse with king Srenika. It is difficult to say how the writer has committed this mistake in the absence of the mention of Mahavira in this connection either in the text or in the commentaries upon that Sutra or by the translator.

The fourth chapter "Jainism in Kalinga-desa" is more or less a corollary to the previous chapter. This occupies about 40 pages. The author deals with the existing materials in a collected form and the reader is slowly carried along through the pages of the chapter with hardly any new light.

Chapter V is on Mathura inscriptions. The matter is based for the most part on the well-known history of the Jain Church of this period based upon the materials found in the Jain Stupa excavated at Kankalitila near Mathura. While reciting the story of Kalikacharya the author says at p. 189, "since then the whole Jain community have begun the fast on the fourth" etc. This is surely misleading inasmuch as the other sect, the Digambaras, do not observe fast either on the fourth or on the fifth but their Daslakshani festival commences from the fifth. Moreover it is not probable that because as a special case one Acharya changed the particular date, the rest of the whole Jain Church would follow suit. The writer has not done justice as regards the date of the Satraps of Mathura. In the 3rd line of p. 196 he puts forward "year 42 of the Lord" etc. but this date is corrected by subsequent scholars as being "72". We come across some inaccuracies in quotations also. For example, at p. 197 footnote (3) is "Ibid, Ins: No. XXIII, p. 396", which should have been "Buhler E. 1 Vol. 1 Ins: No. XXXIII, p. 396".

The sixth chapter is a good survey of the history of Jainism during the Gupta period. It consists of 12 pages only but the author has noticed almost all the materials connected with Jainism of the period.

The most important is the seventh chapter on Jain literature. Here the author has supplied a list of the whole Jain Siddhanta or Scriptures and has pointed out the traditions of the Digambar sect as unbelievers in the sanctity of these scriptures, which are held sacred by the other sect. He has also given short notes about the contents of these scriptures which will be found to be very useful.

In the eighth and last chapter on Jain Art in the North the author has enumerated the views of many experts on the subject without however giving his own conclusions. This chapter occupies 37 pages. At p. 254 after describing diverse styles of architecture including that of the Orissa Caves, Mr. Shah quotes Dr. Buhler's comments on "Ayagapattas". As a Jain scholar we expected some research by him on the origin of this word.

Apart from these few drawbacks, the style of the writer is easy and graceful. As a young author he deserves to be congratulated upon his brilliant labours towards the glorification of the history of his own religion. The price of two guineas is rather high for a poor country like India. But both the get-up of the book and the illustrations are all that could be desired.

The Editor's Note-Book.

TWO hundred years—on December 6, 1732—in the secluded Oxfordshire village of Churchill, a son was born to the Rev. Penyston Hastings, the curate of the parish, to whom the name of his mother, Wester Warren was given. The event was commemorated in London by the holding of a meeting on the anniversary at the Great School, Westminster (where Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey were elected together to foundation scholarships on May 27, 1747). The meeting was organized jointly by the Royal Empire Society and the Governors of Westminster School: and the Dean of Westminster presided, the speakers being the Marquess of Reading and Sir John Marriott. At the same time an exhibition of portraits and relics of Hastings was opened at Westminster School and remained on view during the week. The assembling of the collection was due to Sir Arthur Knapp, an old Westminster who was member of Council at Fort Saint George from 1922 to 1925. Two hitherto unrecorded portraits were shown: one by Hoppner which was lent by Admiral Sir David Murray Anderson, a descendant of Hastings' life-long friend David Anderson: and the other by Raeburn, which was at one time at Rufford Abbey. Mrs. Wansbrough, the great-grand-daughter of Hastings' only sister Anne, also lent one of Lemuel Abbott's replicas. Interesting documents were likewise on view, including the original manuscript of the evidence at the trial which was used by Hastings' solicitor and a draft minute dated April 21, 1775 in the handwriting of Hastings and initialled by Monson, Barwell, Francis and Clavering which was lent by Sir Evan Cotton. The afternoon gathering was followed by an evening meeting in the rooms of the Royal Empire Society when the chair was taken by Sir Austen Chamberlain and an historical appreciation of Hastings was given by Professor Dodwell of London University. Another exhibition consisting chiefly of Hastings MSS. was arranged at the British Museum, to which important contributions were added from the India Office Records. In the morning wreaths were placed on the Hastings' memorial in Westminster Abbey on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, the Worcestershire Association (Daylesford where Hastings lived and where he died on April 22, 1818, is in that county, the boys of Westminster School, and by retired members of the Indian Civil Service, who were represented by Sir Reginald Craddock, M.P.

A SIMILAR exhibition of Hastings' portraits and relics was held in Calcutta in the Durbar Hall at the Victoria Memorial. No more appropriate place could have been chosen for, thanks to the foresight of Lord Curzon and the generosity of Miss Marian Winter the grand-niece of Mrs. Hastings, the Victoria Memorial Hall possesses an unique collection of relics of Hastings: and Sir Richard Westmacott's statue now stands in one of the loggias. Every effort was made by Mr. Percy Brown to collect all other available material in Calcutta: and a notable exhibit was the well-known portrait by Tilly Kettle which was lent by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The copy from the Town Hall of the famous portraits by Devis (which is at Delhi) was also lent by the Corporation of Calcutta.

MAHARAJA BAHADUR Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore has in his well-known art collection of Daniells paintings the picture (3 feet by 4 feet) to which allusion was made in a recent review of Sir William Foster's book on British Artists in India (Vol. XLII, p. 138). The picture was formerly the property of Colonel John Harvey, D.S.D. of lackwell Bury, Biggleswade, England. It represents the reception by a British Officer surrounded by his staff (of whom one is waving a Union Jack above his head) of a Mahomedan nobleman of high rank who is surrendering a green standard bearing his Arms, and whose youthful son stands just behind him dressed in a light canary coloured garment bedecked with jewels. A spirited horse which is being held by a *sais* occupies the left hand of the canvas; and an elephant, from which the Indian noblemen have evidently just descended, fills the background on the right. There can be little doubt, as the result of further enquiry, that the subject is the meeting of Lord Clive with Nawab Mir Jaffer and his son Miran after the battle of Plassey. After the picture had been cleaned the following inscription clearly written by the artist was discovered on the left hand corner of the canvas: "Meeting of Lord Clive and the Nawab of Bengal after the battle of Plassey, 25th June 1757." The identification of the artist is more difficult, but it is probable that the composition is the work of Mather Brown who painted several Indian historical pictures. The Maharaja has presented a photographic enlargement of original size picture to Government House, Calcutta, and a copy to the Secretary of State for India for the India Office.

MENTION may be made of another interesting picture—a large portrait group (9 feet by 6 ft. 2 in.) of "Mrs. Plowden and her children in Hindostanee dress" by John Russell, R.A., which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1797. The lady "Begum" Plowden. seated on the left of the canvas, with a little boy at her knee. Two little girls





MRS. PLOWDEN AND FAMILY,

By John Russell, R.A.,

Reproduced by permission from the Picture
in the collection of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore.

are at play on the right ; and behind them is a young man with a slight black moustache who is holding a fly-whisk. The picture was previously in the collection of Lady Vaux of Harrowden, daughter of Sir William Chichele Plowden (1832-1915) K.C.S.I., M.P. (Bengal Civil Service, 1852-1885). Her grandfather, William Henry Chichele Plowden (Canton Establishment, 1805-1833, Director of the East India Company, 1841-1853), who died in 1880 in his ninety-third year and who was present as a boy at Hastings' trial in Westminster Hall, was one of the younger children of Richard Chichele Plowden (1743-1830) and Sophia Prosser, the lady in the picture. Richard Plowden accompanied his brother-in-law Edward Wheler to Calcutta in 1777 as his private secretary, and two years later was nominated commandant of the Nawab Wazir's bodyguard at Lucknow. He was subsequently (1784) a member of the Committee of Accounts at Calcutta and left India in 1790. In 1787 he paid a visit to Lucknow with his wife, in order to recover the price of a house which he had sold to the Nawab Wazir for £3000. During this visit Mrs. Plowden wrote in her diary on July 26, 1788: "Heard from Major Palmer that he has got my title [of Begum] from the king [Shah Alam] ; the patent making out." In this document (which is still preserved in the family) she is described as "the Bilkis [Queen of Sheba] of her age." Mr. and Mrs. Plowden had eleven children. The young man in the picture is Edward the Eldest who was born in 1779 and died unmarried in 1806 : and the little boy is probably William who was born in 1787. Judging from their appearance, the little girls may be identified as the two youngest daughters, Julia and Lucretia, who both died young. But one of them may be their elder sister Emma, who was educated for about a year with Princess Charlotte—the daughter of George the Fourth, and lived to be eighty-four : she married Capt. (afterwards Major-Gen.) George White. Three of the sons of "Begum" Plowden were nominated to writerships in Bengal through the influence of their father who was a Director from 1803 to 1829 : Richard (B.C.S. 1799-1825), who was followed by his two sons Richard the third (B.C.S. 1825-1827) and Augustus Udney (B.C.S. 1827-1842) : Trevor the first (B.C.S. 1801-1836), from whom Lady Lytton is descended ; and George Augustus who died in Calcutta on November 18, 1804, seven months after his arrival in India.

WE understand that the Maharaja intends to present to the Victoria Memorial Hall an original manuscript on Hindu music which he has lately purchased in Europe. The first three pages (two of which are illuminated) contain a preface, in Persian verse, and the last page, which is written in prose and in red ink, states that the work was undertaken by command of the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) and was completed at Kabul by Nadir Shah. It would seem that it formed part of the plunder taken at the sack of Delhi in 1739, and conveyed by Nadir Shah to Kabul and thence to Persia. Both Muhammad Shah and Nadir Shah are known to have had a strong predilection for Hindu music. The story goes that on the morning of

A Manuscript on
Hindu Music.

his departure from Delhi, Nadir Shah refused to interrupt the singing of a Hindu song, saying, "Let an Empire go but not a *tori*." (1) The manuscript is illustrated with eighty four miniatures in gold and colours, personifying the six main *rags*, each with its attendant *raginees* (wives) and *puttras* or *uparāgs* (sons). These *rāgs* (2) and *raginees* (2) illustrate tribal songs, poems, and devotional compositions set to music. On the reverse of each miniature is a description of the picture and an account of the origin of the Hindu melody, in Persian Verse. A translation is being made of the manuscript under the direction of the Maharaja who is adding his own comments. It will be presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall with the Maharaja's valuable collection of Sanskrit manuscripts on Hindu music. The gift is unique and the Maharaja's generosity will be widely appreciated.

THE subjoined extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, October 20, 1814, which is printed in Sandeman's *Selections* (Vol. IV, p. 370) affords an interesting glimpse of the leading personages in the Hindu society of Calcutta and of the entertainments given by them to celebrate the Durga Puja one hundred and eighteen years ago :

The Hindoo holidays of the Doorga Poojah began yesterday and will continue until the 25th instant. The principal days of entertainment are the 20th, 21st, and 22nd ; on which Nikhee the Billington of the East, will warble her lovely ditties at the hospitable mansion of Rajah Kishun Chund Roy and his brothers, the sons of the late Rajah Sookh Moy Roy. Nor will the hall of Baboo Neel Mony Mullick resound less delightfully with the affecting strains of Ushoorun, who for compass of voice and variety of note, excels all the damsels of Hindostan. Misree, whose graceful gestures would not hurt the eye of Parisot, will lead the fairy dance on the boards of Baboo Joy Kishun Roy's happy dwelling. At Rajah Raj Kishun's may be viewed with amazement and pleasure the wonderful artifices and tricks of legerdemain of an accomplished set of jugglers, just arrived from Lucknow. Baboo Gopee Mohun Deb urged by his usual

(1) *Toree*, a *Ragini*, one of the wives of *Malcou's Rag*. This *Ragini* has been described as "a delicate minstrel clothed in a white *saree*. Her fair skin is tinged and perfumed with touches of camphor and saffron. She stands in a wild romantic spot playing on the *veen*. The skill with which she strikes that instrument has so fascinated the deer in the neighbouring groves, that they have forgot their pasture, and stand listening to the notes which she produces."

(2) The science of Hindu music is personified in six (according to Hunoomana five) principal *Ragas* or major modes ; to each of which is attached six *Raginis*, or minor modes of the same strain, representing so many deities or princes with six wives to each. The performance of each undivided or unmixed melody is exclusively restricted to some season of the year or point of time in the twenty four hours of the day, at which only it is opportune or admissible.

anxiety to contribute to the amusement of the public, has besides a selection of the most accomplished nautch girls, engaged a singularly good buffoon whose performances and those of a boy, who has the uncommon faculty of being able to dance with impunity on the naked edge of two swords, may claim the title of unique. Besides these, the respective residences of Baboo Goopee Mohun Thakoor and Baboo Gooroo Purshad Bhowse, have each their individual cause of attraction, and promise to repay by a full measure of delight those who are content to forsake the calm repose of peaceful slumbers for the hum of men and the bustle and squeeze of crowded assemblies.

THE portrait of Sir John Anstruther, Chief Justice of Bengal from 1797 to 1806, which hangs in the Chief Justice's Court, and of which William Hickey gives such an unflattering account, is thus described in an earlier extract (*Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday June 26, 1806) in the same volume (p. 164):

Sir John Anstruther's
Portrait in the High
Court.

A fine portrait of Sir John Anstruther, Bart., has been placed in the Court House, agreeably to a resolution and request of the Grand Jury in December last. The likeness of that excellent and upright Magistrate (*sic*) is remarkably striking, and when we say that the picture is one of the best efforts of the pencil of Home, we render a more copious display of the merits of this noble painting unnecessary. His Lordship is represented in his robes, sitting in his chair as Chief Justice, his right hand resting on a book to which he seems to have been recently referring. The regalia of office, books, papers, etc., are disposed with much judgment, and though numerous do not confuse or fatigue the eye. A few Indian figures are introduced, one of whom is particularly well-drawn. He appears fixed in a profound attention, and his countenance is strongly expressive of the admiration with which it is inspired by the wisdom and dignity of the Chief Justice.

According to Home's record of pictures painted by him in Calcutta (of which a copy is preserved at the National Portrait Gallery), he received Rs. 3500 for this full length portrait and Rs. 500 for a head which he painted at the same time. Sir John Anstruther sat to him in December 1805.

THE decision of the Government of India to abolish the Corps of Pioneers involves the disappearance of several historic battalions. The Madras Pioneers are made up of such famous "Coast" regiments as the old 1st, 4th and 21st Madras Infantry. The 1st was raised at Fort Saint George in 1758 and the 4th (Baillic-ka-pultan) in the following year: the 21st was formed at

Disappearance of His-
toric Regiments.

Chicacole in 1786 from the Ganjam Sebundies (local levies). The 4th fought at Sholinghur with Coote, at Assaye under Wellesley : and were honoured with the badge of the Elephant. All there helped to storm Seringapatam in 1799. Under Lord Kitchener's scheme of reorganization in 1903, they were re-named as the 61st, 64th, and 81st Pioneers. The Corps of Bombay Pioneers is composed of three Bombay regiments—the old 7th, 21st and 28th—and, incongruously enough of a Bengal battalion the old 12th Kelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment. The 7th Bombay Infantry was raised in 1788 : and it was one of the three which defeated Tippoo Sultan at Seedaseer (Siddheswar) on March 5, 1799. A feat which is commemorated on its colours. The 21st which was formed at Bombay in 1777 as the Marine Battalion, retained that designation until 1903. It had for its regimental badge an anchor and laurel wreath, with a Hindustani motto corresponding with "Per Mare per Terram." The old Bengal Army had its counterpart. Up to 1824 the 20th Bengal Infantry was a Marine Battalion and wore "anchor buttons"; in that year its battalions were re-numbered as the 25th and the 40th, neither of which survived the Mutiny. The 28th Bombay Infantry was a modern regiment and dated from 1846. Two battalions of the Sikh Pioneers—the former 23rd and 32nd Sikhs—were raised in 1857, and the third, the former 34th Sikhs, in 1887. In the old days they recruited only Mazbi and Ramdasias Sikhs. The Hazara Pioneers were raised at Quetta by Sir Claud Jacob in 1904.

THE Kelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment deserves a paragraph to itself. No regiment in the Indian Army has been subjected to so many startling changes.

The Kelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment. It was raised at Ludhiana in 1838 as the 3rd Infantry Regiment of Shah Shujah's Force by Capt. (afterwards Major-General), W. F. Beatson a most distinguished Bengal officer, who served while on furlough from 1832 to 1837 with the British Legion in Spain, organized the Turkish Bashi—Bazouks during the Crimean War, and finally raised two regiments of Beatson's Horse during the Mutiny. For its gallant defence of the Fort of Kelat-i-Ghilzie from November 1841 until the end of May 1842, it received the title of the Kelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment and the badge of a mural crown inscribed "Invicta", and was authorized to carry an honorary colour of blue, yellow and red (the colours of the old Indian military medal) in horizontal stripes. Besides Kelat-i-Ghilzie, its regimental colours were inscribed with such engagements as "Candahar, Ghuznee, and Cabool", all dating from 1842. It fought also at Maharajpore in 1843. For forty-two years (1861 to 1903) it was borne on the cadre of the Bengal Army as the 12th (Kelat-i-Ghilzie) Regiment. In 1903 it was suddenly transformed into the 12th Pioneers, and in 1922, while keeping its honorary colours, (which had ceased to have any meaning), it was deprived of its connexion with Bengal, and ordered to be known as the 2nd battalion of the Bombay Pioneers.

CAPTAIN BULLOCK has succeeded in establishing the identity of the French officer in the service of Daulat Rao Sindhia, who was killed at the battle of Assaye (September 23, 1803). The details of his discovery were published in the *Statesman* of September 4. Compton in his "Military Adventures in Hindusthan" describes him as an "European of distinction", but finds it "difficult to surmise whom this could have been." It is clear, however, from the references in Wellington's Despatches (enlarged edition 1852, Vol. I, p. 798) and Carter's "Medals of the British Army" (1861) that his name was Dorson and that he is the individual whom Compton calls "Brigade-Major D'Orton." He is mentioned in the memoirs of Williams Long which were published at Calcutta in the *Indian Review* for 1839-1840. Long was himself an officer in Sindhia's service, and relates how very shortly after joining the Mahratta army at Poona, he was sent with a detachment "under the command of a Captain Dorson, a Frenchman of the old school of monarchical France", whom Perron had promoted to be senior Captain with the Deccan forces. In a later passage he says that Dorson had been a Mogul officer and "was very proud of the titles" recited in his *sanad* or commission. He adds that Dorson was "a weak man, an hesitating and imbecile character."

LONG had left the Maharatta service a month before the battle of Assaye. On August 19, 1803, he resigned the command of his battalion under William Long. Pedron at Aligarh and went over to the British on the invitation of Lake whose knowledge of Hindustani was (he says) almost confined to the words "loul shrub." He settled at Calcutta in his old age and died there in April 1842, in his seventy-first year. There is a sketch of him in Colesworthy Grant's "Outline Portraits" (1833-1850). His tomb is in the cemetery in Lower Circular Road. Extracts from his memoirs were printed in the *Statesman* of June 19, June 26, July 3, and July 10, 1932. They are well worth reading.

THE death was announced on September 15 of Mr. Henry Goschen, one of the very last surviving servants of the East India Company, in his ninety-sixth year. He was a brother of Viscount Goschen (whose son, the second viscount, was Governor of Fort Saint George from 1924 to 1927) and of Sir W. E. Goschen, British Ambassador in Berlin when war was declared on Germany in 1914. Entering the Bengal Army in 1856, he found himself at Agra with the 3rd Bengal Europeans when the Mutiny broke out in the following year. He was put in temporary command of a battery of artillery and took part in the pursuit of Tantia Topee. When the 3rd Europeans were absorbed into the British Army in 1861 as the 107th Foot, he transferred to the

2nd Punjab Cavalry (now the 22nd Sam Browne's Cavalry) but was obliged by a breakdown in health to retire in 1866. Thereafter he became a partner in his father's banking house. He retained to the last a vivid memory of India as he had known it.

COLONEL Archibald Irvine, the painter of the picture of Darjeeling in 1841, of which an account was given in the last issue (*ante.*, pp. 74, 100-102) was connected through his wife with the Thackerays. Colonel Archibald Irvine. Emily Thackeray, a sister of Richmond Thackeray, the novelist's father, and one of the daughters of "Sylhet" Thackeray, married John Talbot Shakespear (B.C.S. 1801-1825). Their son was Col. Sir Richmond Shakespear, who married one of the daughters of George Powney Thompson (see Vol. XLII, pp. 159-160). Of their daughters, Augusta married General Sir John Low (1788-1880) and had three children: Charlotte, wife of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, 5th baronet (B.C.S. 1848-1866), General Sir Robert Cunliffe Low (1838-1915), Bengal Cavalry, Commander-in-Chief in Bombay from 1898 to 1903, and William Malcolm Low (B.C.S. 1856-1877). Charlotte the second, married I. H. Crawford (B.C.S. 1829), Col. Irvine married the third, Marianne, at Allahabad on March 27, 1835: and one of their daughters, Mary Anne, married Octavius Butler Irvine (Madras C.S. 1856-1880), Judge of Cuddalore. Mr. J. J. Cotton in his Madras Monumental Inscriptions (p. 154) tells us of an interesting memorial of old residents of Cuddalore in the shape of a whist box presented to the Station Club in 1865 by thirteen of its original members, of whom Irvine and Dr. Busted are two. Various Latin mottoes are inscribed on the sides.

DR. BUSTEED was Civil Surgeon of Cuddalore at the time: and within the deserted ruins of Fort Saint David a small tomb bearing a Latin inscription may be seen which he erected in memory of Nettle, a favourite terrier who was bitten by a snake in 1862. All that is left of the historic Fort (writes Mr. Cotton) is the foundation with here and there masses of the broken wall and subterranean galleries which are now chocken up.

IN the note on "The Lawrences and the Impeys" (*ante.*, p. 93), it should have been mentioned that Col. Eugene Impey married in 1858 a daughter of Sir George St. Patrick Lawrence. He was therefore the nephew by marriage of Lord Lawrence, whose military secretary he was. In addition to Mr. G. H. Lawrence, another son of Sir George Lawrence entered the Bengal Civil

Service. This was the late Mr. Alexander John Lawrence, C.I.E. (1837-1905) who served in the United Provinces from 1856 to 1891 and married a daughter of William Edwards B.C.S. (died 1890) who edited Sir George Lawrence's "Reminiscences of Forty Three Years in India" (1875), and published also his own "Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian" (1866).

EDWARDS, whose youngest son, Lt. Col. A. H. M. Edwards was military secretary to Lord Curzon in 1905, came out to India in 1837, travelling over land. He relates in his book how the journey was made at the suggestion of Sir James Rivett-Carnac "in order to test its practicability as a route for mails and passengers." Accompanied by Captain (afterwards General) Lachlan MacQueen, of the 3rd Madras Cavalry, sailed from Falmouth on May 4, 1837. Alexandria was reached on May 22, after a change of vessel at Malta. There was one hotel in the place—"a very indifferent one, kept by a Scotchwoman." Taking charge of the Indian mail, "which had been forwarded by this route chiefly as an experiment," then proceeded in a country boat to Cairo. "The only means of progress was by towing," and the heat was as troublesome as the mosquitoes "and all kinds of vermin." At Cairo they lodged at Hill's Hotel and fell in with Colonel Vyse of the Life Guards, "a gentleman of large fortune and ardent antiquarian tastes, who was employed in excavating, at his own expense, the larger pyramid." On May 27 they started, with a procession of two dromedaries and seven baggage-camels, on the two days' journey across the desert to Suez. On reaching Suez, "one of the most desolate places on the face of the earth", there was no sign of the expected warship which was to convey them to Bombay, and they embarked on an Arab *buggala*, which was taking military stores to Hodeida. The voyage to that place, which was attended by much discomfort, lasted until June 12. Here they transhipped to a pilgrim boat which was bound for Jeddah, where they arrived on June 13. Another Arab vessel conveyed them to Mocha and there on June 20, they descried two British ships of war riding at anchor. The remainder of the journey to Bombay (June 23 to July 8) was made on the Company's survey brig *Palinurus*. Leaving Bombay in a small vessel at the end of August, Edwards finally landed at Calcutta on September 13, when he learned that the *Reliance*, which had started on the round voyage a month before him, had just arrived. In the winter of 1852 Edwards took his first furlough and returned overland to India in November 1854, meeting his old travelling companion, General Mac Queen, at Suez. But how different was the scene! In'stead of the miserable *buggala*, and the single box of mails, there was a splendid first-class screw steamer, carrying 300 passengers and 700 boxes of mails."

FROM 1847 to 1852, Edwards was Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, and owned "The Retreat" at Mashobra, which is now the country residence of the Viceroy. It had then no upper story but there was a verandah on the north facing the snows. Edwards sold the house to his successor Lord William Hay (afterwards tenth Marquess of Tweeddale), who died in 1914 at the age of eighty-five. It then became known as "Larty Sahib ki Koti." From 1869 to 1888 it belonged to the elder Sir Edward Buck (B.C.S. 1862-1897) and Lord Roberts lived there for four years. It was acquired for the Viceroy's use in 1896.

TWO remarkable instances of longevity are recorded by Edwards in Chapter XVII of his book. On his return from furlough in 1854 he was posted to the district of Budaon in Rohilcund as magistrate and collector. In January 1857 he was marching through the north of the district when he came across two aged Mahomedans, of whom one claimed to be 125 years old and the other 150. The younger patriarch, who was bedridden, told him that he remembered the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah, which took place in 1739 when he was seven years old, and that he had been present as an officer in the Mogul army at the battle of Panipat in 1761. The elder man had been born in the village and had never left it. He could recall the time when the country was all jungle and when the cultivators were obliged to carry their weapons when they went to work in the fields.

A FORMIDABLE rival to these individuals appears to be alive to-day. According to the Census Commissioner, a man has been discovered in the Central Provinces who claims to have been born "when Warren Hastings ruled." If the statement is accepted, he must be 150 years old: for Warren Hastings resigned the office of Governor General of Bengal in February 1785. But, in view of the fact that he "still sats gargantuan meals", it is suggested that he was more probably born during the ten years (1813 to 1823) that the Marquess of Hastings was Governor-General. This would not prevent him from "remembering the Indian Mutiny as an event of his later middle age."

WE are glad to observe that the Allahabad Archæological Society is giving attention to the antiquities of Kara, or Currah, near Sirathu and about forty miles to the north of Allahabad. The provinces of Corah (Kora) in the Fatehpur district and Currah were taken from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh by Clive in 1765 and handed over to the

Emperor Shah Alam. Kara was also the capital of the Khiliji Kings and was the scene in 1296 of the murder of Ala-ud-din Khilji of his uncle, the Emperor Jalal-ud-din, on his return from his victorious march through the Deccan. But its history goes back to an even earlier period. A triangular copper plate with an inscription in the Kharosthi script has been discovered, which is believed to be of a date subsequent to 600 B.C. ; and it has been placed in the Allahabad Museum. Kara was visited by Thomas and William Daniell in October 1789, on their way down the Ganges from Cawnpore to Allahabad. They spent two days there and "collected a number of very good subjects—could have wished to spend another day." An oil-painting of a "View near the Fort of Currah" was exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy in 1801 and is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall : and there are no less than three aquatints of Currah in *Oriental Scenery*, one in the first series (plate 21) and two in the third series (plates 1 and 21). On the opposite side of the river is Manikpur, a village in the Partabgarh district, where the Daniells likewise made a number of sketches. A volume of "views round Kurrah" by a later visitor, Capt. George Abbott (1803-1838) of the 15th Bengal Infantry, which was published at Calcutta in 1830, is in the Lyell collection ; it is bound up with McCurdy's views of the Nilgiris and Kershaw's views of the Burman Empire.

A ROCK inscription, thirty two feet in length, and believed to date back to the year 2000 B.C. has been discovered in a cave at Vikramkhole, near Sambalpur railway station. It was at first supposed that it was one of the Rock Edicts of Asoka, but this is not the view held by such learned archæologists as Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of Patna. The script is neither Brahmi nor Pali, but midway between Brahmi and the script of Mohenjo-daro. According to Mr. Jayaswal, the inscription is likely to prove that Brahmi was derived from the so-called Mans Valley script, and Phœnician from Brahmi. The contrary theory has hitherto found favour with scholars.

A BLACK stone image of Vishnu with ten arms, has been dug up in a field near Agartala and presented to His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura. It is two feet high and stands on a lotus. Different weapons are carried in eight of the arms, and the other two rest on the heads of Lakshmi and Saraswati—the goddesses of wealth and learning—who are standing on either side. There is no inscription, but the distinctive garments and jewellery, and the rounded stela at the top are thought to indicate the ninth century as a probable date.

MAHARAJA BAHADUR Sir Pradyot Coomer Tagore, calls our attention to a curious interpretation of the Bengali word গাবর (Sabar) as "softened skin", which appeared on page 53 of *Bengal : Past and Present*, Volume XLIV, Part I.

Sabar the Skin of Sambar Deer.

Apparently Mr. Sarkar has been misguided by the meaning of the word given in page 915 of Jogesh Chandra Roy's *Bangla Sabda Kosh* (dictionary). Maharaja Bahadur gives the correct meaning of the word in his letter saying, ". . . the hide of the Sambar deer, which are found in innumerable numbers in the regions of the Himalayas and the Nepal forests. It is therefore not a 'soft skin' but the skin of Sambar deer which becomes soft and smooth after tanning. These hides are regarded as very sacred and are generally used for devotional purposes by orthodox Hindus and *sannyasis*. I am sorry to observe that this gentleman (lexicographer) is wholly wrong in construing the true meaning of the word as 'softened skin' whereas it is not". According to Platts, it may be added, that it is a Hindi word (from Sanskrit *Sambara*, a deer) meaning "A large species of stag, a kind of elk;—leather of elk's (or any kind of deer's) hide, chamois, wash leather". One would tell that from common use the word 'sambar' has dropped the 'm', and hence the colloquial 'sabar'. We offer our thanks to the Maharaja Bahadur.
